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# THE CAPTAIN'S CONFLICT WITH THE ALGERIENNE AT TRIPOLI.

THE CAPTAIN'S CONFLICT WITH THE ALGERIENNE AT TRIPOLI.



# OUR COUNTRY.

A  
HOUSEHOLD HISTORY  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES

FOR ALL READERS,

From the Discovery of America to the Present Time.

BY  
BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D.,

CONTINUED FROM JULY 4, 1876, BY HUGH CRAIG, M. A., TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

WITH OVER FIVE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS

BY  
FELIX O. C. DARLEY.

COMPLETE IN SIX VOLUMES.

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# OUR COUNTRY.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

POSITION OF THE BELLIGERENT ARMIES—MRS. WASHINGTON AT HEADQUARTERS—HAMILTON AND MISS SCHUYLER—BRITISH INVASION OF NEW JERSEY—MURDER OF MRS. CALDWELL—ARRIVAL OF FRENCH FORCES—TREASON OF ARNOLD—HIS CHARACTER—PROGRESS OF HIS TREASON—INTERVIEW BETWEEN ARNOLD AND ANDRÉ—CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ—ARNOLD'S ESCAPE—DISCOVERY OF THE TREASON—EXECUTION OF ANDRÉ—THE FATE OF ARNOLD AND ANDRÉ CONSIDERED—THE CAPTORS OF ANDRÉ REWARDED—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND HOLLAND—THE AMERICAN CAUSE IN PERIL—A STRONGER GOVERNMENT LONGED FOR—HAMILTON'S PROJECT—REFORMS IN THE ARMY.

WHILE stirring events were taking place in the South, important ones were occurring in the North, where military operations had almost ceased because the theatre of war had been transferred to the Carolinas and Georgia. Washington had his headquarters at Morristown, at a house yet standing there, and his main army were encamped within call.

The winter of 1779-80 was very severe. The salt waters that surround New York city were so bridged with solid ice that the British took heavy cannons across from that town to Staten Island. The Continental Army, as we have observed, were encamped chiefly in New Jersey, and the British occupied the city of New York. The snow lay so deep on the ground that both armies were compelled to remain quiet several weeks. When the spring opened, the troops under the direct command of Washington numbered less than four thousand effective men; and between the Chesapeake and the northern and eastern frontiers of the Union, there were not more than seven thousand Continental soldiers.

The troops at and near Morristown suffered much from hunger and cold, at times. Mrs. Washington passed that winter there, with her husband. Sentinels and Life-Guardsmen were continually on duty to defend headquarters from sudden and secret attack. Sometimes, when alarms were quite frequent, guards were placed in Mrs. Washington's sleeping apartment. When an alarm occurred, they threw open the windows to give full play to their muskets. On one of these occasions, on a bitter cold night, the windows were kept open more than an hour, exposing Mrs. Washington to the intense cold, with no other defence against it than the ordinary bed-

clothing and the thick curtains drawn. General Schuyler also passed a greater portion of the winter and spring at Morristown, in consultation with Washington about the future. His quarters were near those of the commander-in-chief, and his family were with him. His daughter Elizabeth was then betrothed to Colonel Alexander Hamilton, of Washington's staff, and the young couple were together almost every evening. On one of these occasions, when Hamilton was returning to his quarters, he had forgotten the countersign. The charms of Miss Schuyler seem to have obliterated the

word from his memory. He came to the sentinel, who knew him well, but the faithful soldier would not let him pass without giving the word. The colonel was greatly embarrassed. A son of Mr. Ford, a lad fourteen years of age, at whose father's house Washington had his quarters, was entrusted with the countersign for the day, whenever he wished to go to the village and return in the evening. He had just passed the sentinel, when, hearing the voice of Colonel Hamilton, he stopped and waited for him to come up. Hamilton discovered the boy, by the light of the stars, and called out, "Aye, Master Ford, is that you?" Then stepping aside, he called the boy to him, and drawing young Ford's ear to his lips, he whispered, "Give me the countersign." He did so, and



HAMILTON AND THE SENTINEL AT MORRISTOWN.

the colonel presented himself in front of the sentinel and gave the word. The soldier kept his bayonet at a present. "I have given you the word, why do you not shoulder your musket?" Hamilton asked. The sentinel, suspecting the colonel was trying his fidelity, said, "Will that do, colonel?" "It will for this time," Hamilton replied; "let me pass." The soldier reluctantly obeyed the illegal command. Colonel Hamilton and his betrothed were married in December following.



The news of the surrender of Charleston reached New York at near the close of May. This intelligence, and the assurance of Tories from New Jersey that the people there were wearied with the struggle and were disposed to submit, seemed to present a favorable opportunity for making a raid into that State by British troops, and setting up the royal standard there. At the beginning of June, General Maxwell, with his New Jersey brigade, was at Connecticut Farms (now the village of Union), a hamlet a few miles from Elizabethtown; and three hundred New Jersey militia under Colonel Dayton occupied the latter place. Against these, Knyphausen sent General Mathews, with about five thousand troops, on the 6th of June. They passed over from Staten Island to Elizabethtown Point, and the next day took possession of Elizabethtown. The militia there retired before the superior force, when the invaders pressed on to Connecticut Farms, greatly annoyed on their way by the rising militia who hung upon their flanks. At the Farms the British murdered the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell, a very active patriot, who was then in Washington's army. Mrs. Caldwell did not fly, with her neighbors, on the approach of the enemy, but remained, trusting in Providence for protection. When the invaders entered the hamlet, she retired to an inner room with her children, one of them a suckling. A British soldier came through a yard to an open window of the room, and shot her as she sat on the edge of the bed. Two bullets pierced her, and she fell dead to the floor, with her infant in her arms. The babe was unhurt. The nurse snatched it up and ran out of the house, which was on fire. The church and every building of the hamlet became a victim to the flames. There was barely time to drag the body of Mrs. Caldwell out of the burning building into the street, where it lay exposed several hours, until permission was given to her friends to bury the remains.

As the invaders pushed on toward Springfield, they were met by Maxwell's troops, and after a brief skirmish, and hearing that forces were coming down from Morristown, they retreated to the coast, where they remained about a fortnight. Meanwhile Clinton had arrived from Charleston. He sent reinforcements to Mathews, and after making a feint upon the Hudson Highlands, he and Knyphausen crossed over and joined the troops at Elizabethtown Point. The feint deceived Washington, who left the command of a considerable force of Continental troops at the Short Hills, between Springfield and Morristown, with General Greene, while he moved with another force in the direction of the Hudson. Early in the morning of the 23d of June (1780), the British advanced toward Springfield, and Greene moved forward to meet them, in battle array. The invaders approached in two columns. Greene was advantageously posted. The British force, about



five thousand strong, with cavalry and almost twenty cannon, seemed sufficient to crush any republican army that might oppose them; but after a very severe skirmish, the invaders were defeated. Setting fire to Springfield, they retreated to the shore, and crossed over in haste from Elizabethtown Point to Staten Island, on a bridge of boats. Clinton had lost a rare opportunity for the conquest of New Jersey, and possibly the destruction or dispersion of Washington's army.

Good news for the Americans now came from the east. The strong recommendations from D'Estaing on his return to France, joined with the persuasions of Lafayette, had induced the French government to send an army to America, under the Count de Rochambeau, who was instructed to act under the orders of Washington at all times, after his arrival. The troops were borne over the Atlantic in a fleet commanded by Admiral de Ternay, and arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 10th of July. The General Assembly of the State were then in session, and received the strangers cordially. The news of their arrival was greeted with joy everywhere in the Union; and Washington sent a letter of welcome to Rochambeau, by the hand of Lafayette, who was instructed to concert measures with the French general for the future operations of the allied armies. In compliment to the strangers and as a symbol of the alliance with them, Washington requested his officers to wear on their chapeaus white and black cockades.

When news of the arrival of the French at Newport reached New York, Clinton ordered the British fleet there to bear an army to Rhode Island to attack the newly arrived enemy. He detached about eight thousand men for that service. The militia of New England flew to arms, and the French longed for the British to come; but the expedition did not go out of Long Island Sound, and soon returned to New York. Clinton now attempted, by the aid of treason, to accomplish what he had failed to do by honorable warfare. The man who played the part of a traitor to the American cause on that occasion was General Benedict Arnold, a brave soldier, but a bad man. He was ambitious of personal renown, impulsive, rapacious, unscrupulous, and vindictive; personally very unpopular, and seldom without a quarrel with some of his fellow-officers. The sad story of his treason has been so often told in detail, that we need to give it in general outline only.

Soon after the appointment to the military governorship of Philadelphia, in 1778, he married the beautiful daughter of Edward Shippen, a leading loyalist of that city. He lived in a style which caused expenditure beyond his income, and to meet the demands of importunate creditors, he engaged in fraudulent and dishonorable official acts which caused the public to detest

him. Finally serious charges of dishonesty were preferred against him before the Continental Congress; and a court-martial ordered by that body to try him, found him guilty. In their sentence they treated him most leniently. It was a simple reprimand by the commander-in-chief. That duty was performed by Washington in the most delicate manner; but the disgrace awakened vengeful feelings in the bosom of Arnold. These, operating with the pressure of debt, made him listen to the suggestions of a bad nature; and he let Sir Henry Clinton know that he preferred service in the British army to that in which he was engaged. Correspondence upon the subject, which was continued several months, was conducted on the part of Sir Henry, through the accomplished Major John André, his adjutant-general, under an assumed name. So, also, did Arnold assume a fictitious name; and on the part of both, the correspondence was carried on in commercial phraseology. Arnold agreed to ask for the command of the strong post of West Point and its dependencies, in the Hudson Highlands, and, if obtained, to betray it into the hands of Clinton. For this service Arnold was to receive the commission of brigadier in the British army, and fifty thousand dollars in gold. It is asserted by Mr. Bancroft, that "in the course of the winter of 1778-1779, he was taken into the pay of Clinton, to whom he gave on every occasion most material intelligence."



BENEDICT ARNOLD.

The nefarious plot had been made known to the British minister, and he and Clinton believed that its consummation would end the war. In the spring of 1780, Arnold took measures to secure for himself the command of West Point. He enlisted the sympathies and services in his behalf of General Schuyler, Robert R. Livingston and other leading patriots of New York, pretending that his wounds would not permit him to do active service in the field, and that he was very anxious to serve his country. His pro-

fessions of patriotism were so vehement that he deceived those men, and they united in recommending Washington to give him the important position. The latter had lost faith in Arnold's integrity, but could not believe him capable of treason to the cause. He finally yielded to the request of others more than to the dictates of his better judgment, and in August (1780) he placed Arnold in command of the Highland forts, with his headquarters at the house of Beverly Robinson (yet standing), opposite West Point. Then Arnold bent all his energies for the consummation of his treason, first requiring a personal interview with André, to make a definite arrangement about the terms of the bargain.

It was late in September before that personal interview was held. Washington, accompanied by Lafayette and Hamilton, crossed the Hudson at Verplanck's Point (where he was joined by Arnold), on his way to Hartford, to have his first personal conference with Rochambeau there. That was on the 18th. Arnold ascertained the time when they might be expected at West Point, on their return, and he resolved to bring the plot to a point ready for the final act before then. He immediately informed Clinton of the situation, and desired him to send André up the river to the *Vulture* sloop-of-war, then lying just above Teller's (now Croton) Point, to which a boat with a flag would be sent to convey the major to a selected place of meeting, between midnight and dawn. Clinton embarked troops on the Hudson, with a pretext that they were bound for the Chesapeake. These he intended to lead in person against the Highland forts.

On the morning of the 20th André departed from Dobb's Ferry for the *Vulture*; but it was the second night after his arrival, when the flag appeared, borne by Joshua H. Smith, a resident near Haverstraw. André had been instructed by Clinton not to change his dress and not to take any papers with him; so, with his regimentals, covered with a long surtout, he went ashore, and met Arnold in bushes at the foot of Torn Mountain, near Haverstraw, by the light of a waning moon. Dawn was approaching before the interview was ended; and the conspirators mounted horses which Arnold had provided, and rode to the house of Smith before the break of day. At sunrise, cannons were heard upon the river, and the *Vulture* was seen to fall down the stream, out of sight, to avoid the effects of artillery trained upon her at Teller's Point. This gave André uneasiness, for he would be compelled to return to New York by land.

The conference at Smith's house lasted several hours. It was agreed that Arnold should so distribute the garrison at West Point as to weaken it. When it should be known that the British troops were ascending the river, Arnold was to apply to Washington at Tappan for reinforcements; and after

making a show of resistance, he was to surrender the post in time for Clinton to fall upon the approaching troops which might be led by the commander-in-chief in person. So, at one blow, Washington's army was to be ruined, and the important post to be seized by the enemy.

André received from Arnold a written statement of the condition of the Highland forts, and a pass for "John Anderson" (his assumed name) "to the White Plains and beyond." With the latter in his pocket and the former under his feet, in his boots, the young officer, having exchanged his scarlet uniform for a coat that belonged to Mr. Smith, buttoned his surtout up to his chin, crossed the river at the King's Ferry, and on horseback made his way toward New York on the east side of the Hudson. So far the plot had worked well. Knowledge of the conspiracy was yet locked in the bosom of a single American—the traitor himself. But difficulties soon arose. When the major had reached the vicinity of Tarrytown, sixteen miles from the strong British post at King's Bridge, and was riding in fancied security up the gentle hill from Sleepy Hollow, he was suddenly confronted by three young militiamen—John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams—who belonged to a party of seven who were out to prevent cattle being driven from the vicinity to the British lines, and to arrest any suspicious characters on the highway. These young men were playing cards in the shadow of a wood by the road-side, when André appeared. Paulding, followed by his companions, stepped into the road, and presenting his bayonet ordered the well-dressed "gentlemanly traveler" to stop. André, supposing them to be Loyalists, said: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." "Which party?" asked Paulding. "The Lower party." Paulding answered misleadingly, "We do," when André said, "Gentlemen, I am a British officer, out in the country on particular business, and hope you will not detain me a minute." He then showed them his watch in token of his being an officer, when Paulding ordered him to dismount. Perceiving his mistake, André said: "My God! I must do any thing to get along," and then showed them Arnold's pass. "Gentlemen," he said, "you had best let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble, for your stopping me will detain the general's business." He told them he was going to Dobbs' Ferry to meet a person there from whom he expected important intelligence for Arnold. Paulding courteously said: "I hope you'll not be offended; we do not intend to take any thing from you; there are many bad people on the road, and you, perhaps, are one of them. Have you any letters?" He answered, "No." Then they took him into the bushes, and searched him. André was dressed in a blue surtout, a claret-colored body-coat trimmed with lace; nankeen waistcoat and breeches; flannel underclothes, round



hat, and thread stockings, and boots. They stripped him to his shirt, but found no papers on him; and they were about to let him go, when it was suggested that something might be concealed in his boots. He reluctantly obeyed an order to pull them off, when the papers alluded to were found between his stockings and his feet. "This is a spy!" exclaimed Paulding. André offered them large bribes to release him. "Not for ten thousand



CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRE.

guineas," said Paulding; and the three young men conducted their prisoner to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who was in command of the nearest military post, at North Castle. Jameson, with amazing stupidity, resolved to send the prisoner to Arnold. Major Tallmadge, next in rank, suspecting the general of treachery, warmly remonstrated, when Jameson consented to confine the captive until he should receive orders from Washington or Arnold. He insisted upon writing a letter to Arnold informing him of the arrest of the prisoner. This was a fatal blunder, and led to great mischief.

That night the prisoner wrote a letter to Washington, frankly announcing

his name, and rank, and giving a truthful account of the whole affair. He gave the letter to Tallmadge to read, who was astonished to find that the captive was Major André, adjutant-general of the British army. He was finally taken to the headquarters of the army at Tappan.

While these events were occurring, Washington was on his way from Hartford. On the morning of the 25th (September, 1780), he and his attendants left Fishkill before the dawn, and rode on with speed toward the Robinson house to breakfast with General and Mrs. Arnold. When near there, the chief turned down a lane to view a battery on the brink of the river, and told his young companions to go forward and he would soon join them. While they were at the table with the general, a messenger brought a letter to him from Jameson; but instead of announcing, as he expected it would, that a British armament was ascending the river, it told him of the arrest of Major André. His presence of mind did not forsake him. He told his guests that business of importance demanded his presence at West Point immediately. He ascended to his wife's chamber and sent for her. There, in brief and hurried words, he told her that they must instantly part, perhaps forever, for his life depended upon his reaching the British lines as quickly as possible. Horror-stricken, the poor young creature, one year a mother but not two a bride, swooned and sank senseless upon the floor. Arnold dared not call for help, but kissing with lips blasted by words of guilt and treason, his boy then sweetly sleeping, he rushed from the room, mounted a horse belonging to one of his guests, and hastened to the river along a by-way yet known as *Arnold's Path*. Then he entered his barge, and directed his six oarsmen to push out into the middle of the river and pull for Teller's Point. They were ignorant of his errand, and having their muscles stimulated by a promise of two gallons of rum, they rowed the little vessel swiftly down the stream to the *Vulture*. Having made himself known to the commander, Arnold rewarded his faithful men with the fate of prisoners instead of the promised beverage. Clinton, despising the traitor's meanness, set them at liberty when the *Vulture* arrived at New York.

Washington arrived at Robinson's house just after Arnold had left. No one there, excepting Mrs. Arnold in her chamber, knew of the traitor's flight. Supposing he had gone over to West Point, the chief crossed the river, and did not return until near noon. He was met near the landing-place by Hamilton, into whose hand a messenger from Jameson had placed the proof of Arnold's guilt—the papers taken from André's boots, and the major's letter to Washington. Efforts were immediately made to overtake the traitor, but he had four hours the start, and escaped, as we have observed. The fugitive's wife was crazed by the shock for several hours, and



her condition excited the warmest sympathy of the chief and his attendants. She pressed her infant to her bosom and lamented his fate because of the conduct of his father. "All the sweetness of beauty, all the loveliness of innocence, all the tenderness of a wife, and all the fondness of a mother," wrote Colonel Hamilton, "showed themselves in her appearance and conduct." They believed that she was entirely ignorant of his crime until it was revealed to her at the time of his flight.



ARNOLD'S ESCAPE.

Major André was tried at Tappan by fourteen general officers, found guilty, and hanged there on the 2d of October, 1780. He begged to be shot that he might die like a *soldier* and not as a *spy*. In a letter to Washington he pleaded with touching but manly earnestness for this boon. That letter has been thus paraphrased in verse, by Willis:

"It is not the fear of death that damps my brow,  
It is not for another breath, I ask thee now;  
I can die with a lip unstirr'd, and a quiet heart—  
Let but this prayer be heard ere I depart.

I can give up my mother's look—my sister's kiss;  
I can think of love—yet brook a death like this!  
I can give up the young fame I burn'd to win;  
All—but the spotless name I glory in.

Thine is the power to give, thine to deny  
Joy for the hour I live, calmness to die.  
By all the brave should cherish, by my dying breath,  
I ask that I may perish by a soldier's death."

The usage of both armies and the implacable demands of the military code toward a spy forbade a compliance with his wishes. The British officers, on all occasions, had been quick to hang American captives. We have seen how brutally they gibbeted young Nathan Hale; and scores of patriots in South Carolina had recently perished by the rope by order of Cornwallis, for no other offence than loving the service of their own country better than that of their oppressors. Every officer in the American army would gladly have exchanged André for Arnold, and efforts to accomplish that end were made, but failed. Arnold died in his bed twenty-one years afterward; while André, the more innocent victim of the wicked complot of Clinton and Arnold, perished on a gibbet four days after he was convicted. The last words of André to the multitude who saw him die were—"I pray you bear me witness that I met my fate like a brave man." The American people and their annalists have ever done so. His king knighted his brother, and pensioned his mother and sisters; and the custodians of Westminster Abbey dishonored that sanctuary of the virtuous and noble dead of the kingdom, by allowing a conspicuous monument to his memory to be placed in it. Arnold escaped punishment altogether, for his was too coarse a nature to suffer the mental anguish of remorse. He was shunned and neglected by those who accepted the treason but despised the traitor, excepting the king and a few persons in office; and he died in London, in poverty and obscurity. His children were placed on the pension-list of the realm.

The captors of André—the three young militiamen—were rewarded by the Congress with a vote of thanks; and to each was awarded a commemorative medal of silver and two hundred dollars a year for life. At the burial place of each a marble monument has been erected; and another marks the spot where André was arrested.



EXECUTION OF ANDRÉ.

The year 1780 now drew to a close, yet the patriots were far from being subdued. The British government had expended vast sums of money and many precious lives in endeavors to subjugate them, and had involved the nation in a war with France, as a consequence. Yet English pluck would not yield an iota to adverse circumstances. Great Britain seemed to acquire fresh vigor when any new obstacle presented itself. Seemingly unmindful of the fact that large French land and naval forces were on the shores of America, the British ministry, when satisfied that Holland would give national aid to the "rebellious colonies," caused a declaration of war to be made against that power by the king, and procured from Parliament immense appropriations of men and money, ships and stores, to sustain the power of the empire on land and sea. British cruisers had already depredated upon Dutch commerce in times of peace; and the British government treated the Netherlands more as a vassal than as an independent nation. So early as May (1780) the British minister at the Hague had been instructed to inform his government concerning the current voyages of Dutch merchantmen, "that the British cruisers might know where to go for the richest prizes."

To prevent Holland joining the Armed-Neutrality league, the ministry sought a decent pretext for making war on that republic. It was found in October (1780) when Henry Laurens, late president of the Congress, who had been authorized by that body a year before to negotiate a commercial treaty with Holland and for a loan of ten million dollars from that government, was captured on the high seas by a British cruiser. Among his papers (which he threw into the sea, but which were recovered) were found an unofficial copy of a treaty with the Netherlands, and evidence that such negotiations had been going on between Holland and the United States. Here was the coveted pretext. Laurens was confined as a state prisoner in the Tower of London under circumstances of great severity, and on the 20th of December, the king declared war against Holland. Before his declaration had been promulgated, and while efforts were a-making at the Hague to conciliate England and avoid war, British cruisers pounced upon and captured two hundred unsuspecting Dutch merchantmen, laden with cargoes valued at more than five million dollars; and orders had gone forth for the seizure of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. It was a cruel and unjust war, and deepened the hatred of Continental Europe for Great Britain. That government was regarded as a bully ready to oppress and plunder the weak.

Notwithstanding the Americans were not subdued at the close of 1780, their cause was in great peril from the weakness of its material props. The condition of the currency was an impediment to all vigorous measures. "A

wagon-load of money would scarcely buy a wagon-load of provisions." The States were urged to supply quotas of funds for the common use, but their responses were slow and feeble, and there was no central power competent to levy taxes or demand forced loans. A closer union and greater power in the general government were essential to success, and wise patriots in every position appealed to the people in favor of a stronger government. General Greene, who, as quartermaster-general, saw clearly the public needs, wrote in June, 1780: "The Congress have lost their influence. I have for a long time seen the necessity of some new plan of civil constitution. Unless there is some control over the States by the Congress, we shall soon be like a broken band." There was a spirit of patriotism among the people ample to meet the great emergency; but legislators lacked wisdom to grasp the problem. While the people yearned for a closer union and a truly national government, Virginia was contending for State supremacy. The legislators of that State agreed with John Adams, who wrote that the assembly in any State was "every way adequate to the management of all the federal concerns of the people of America, because Congress is not a legislative assembly, nor a representative assembly, but a diplomatic assembly."

At a convention of delegates from three New England States, held in Philadelphia in August, 1780, it was resolved that the national concerns should be "under the superintendency and direction of one supreme head," and recommended the investment of the Congress with such power. These words powerfully impressed the mind of young Hamilton, who was then a member of Washington's military family and his able secretary. He invited Mr. Duane, a representative of New York in the Congress, to propose in that body a convention of all the States in November following, and submitted a general plan for a national government, not in form but in concrete suggestions, full of wisdom and evidences of sound statesmanship. He said, truly, that the plan for a confederation which the Congress had adopted, and was awaiting the ratification of the several States, was "neither fit for war or peace," saying: "The idea of uncontrollable sovereignty in each State will defeat the powers given to Congress, and make our union feeble and precarious." At the same time Washington, who, from the beginning, had urged the necessity of a permanent military force, now pleaded for a system of enlistments "for the war," and other reforms in the army. "We have lived," he wrote, "upon expedients till we can live no longer. The history of this war is a history of temporary devices instead of a system." The Congress took measures for "reforming the army," but that body was powerless, and cast the burden of responsibility upon the several States.



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

PATRIOTISM OF THE SOLDIERS REMARKABLY DISPLAYED—A MUTINY SUPPRESSED—JOHN LAURENS AND A FRENCH LOAN—ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION—A BANK ESTABLISHED—GRENE SUCCEEDS GATES—CUNNINGHAM'S ATROCITIES—BATTLE AT THE COWPENS—GREENE CHASED BY CORNWALLIS—BATTLE AT GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE—FOX AND PITT ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS—ARNOLD IN VIRGINIA—DEPREDACTIONS BY PHILLIPS AND ARNOLD—LAFAYETTE AND STEUBEN IN VIRGINIA—CORNWALLIS AND LAFAYETTE—CAPTURING EXPEDITIONS FOILED—CORNWALLIS MARCHES FOR THE SEA-COAST—ORDERS FROM CLINTON—CORNWALLIS SEATED AT YORK-TOWN.

THE seventh year of the old war for independence (1781) opened with an extraordinary display of patriotism on the part of the Continental soldiers. Always lacking means for the prompt performance of their legitimate duties, the Congress were always dilatory in carrying out their promises embodied in resolutions. The consequence was that the army suffered great privations for want of money and clothing. Not comprehending the real weakness of the Congress, loud complaints were uttered that sometimes grew into the manifestations of a mutinous spirit. The tardiness in exchanging prisoners, and the seeming neglect of them by the Congress, had been a source of much dissatisfaction from the time when the sugar-houses and churches in the city of New York were made prisons for the reception of American captives taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington in 1776. Their sufferings in those sugar-houses, three in number, and in the Provost prison under the wicked rule of Marshall Cunningham, were very terrible. The story of the horrors of those prisons and of the prison-ships near New York form some of the darkest chapters in human history.

At the time we are considering there was great dissatisfaction in the army because of the official interpretation of the words "for three years or during the war," in the terms of enlistment of the private soldiers. The latter claimed that it meant for three years if the war continued, or to be discharged sooner if the war should cease. The official interpretation was that it meant for three years or longer if the war continued. This matter, the promises of Congress repeatedly broken, and the real sufferings of the soldiers at that time from lack of necessities for themselves and their fami-



lies, partly on account of the worthlessness of the Continental money, caused thirteen hundred men of the Pennsylvania line to march from the camp at Morristown for Princeton, on the first of January, 1781, with the avowed intention of going to Philadelphia and, in person, demanding justice at the hands of Congress. General Wayne, their commander, tried by threats and persuasions to induce them to return to their duty. They regarded their time of enlistment as fulfilled; and when he placed himself before them and



GENERAL WAYNE AND THE MUTINEERS.

cocked his pistol, they presented bayonets at his breast, declaring that much as they loved and respected him, they would put him to death instantly if he should fire. He appealed to their patriotism. Finding they would not listen to him, he resolved to accompany them. At Princeton they gave him a written list of their demands. They appeared reasonable. He caused them to be laid before Congress, who promptly complied with them as far as possible, and disbanded a larger portion of the Pennsylvania line for the winter, which was filled by new recruits in the spring.

When Sir Herry Clinton heard of this movement, he mistook the spirit of the mutineers and hoped to gain great advantage from the revolt. He passed over to Staten Island with troops to support them, and sent two

emissaries among them, with a New Jersey Tory, bearing an offer to pay them the arrearages of their wages in hard cash, clothe them well, give each a free pardon, and take them under the protection of the British government if they should lay down their arms and march to New York. The soldiers treated his offers with scorn. "See, comrades," said one of them, "he takes us for traitors. Let us show him that the American army can furnish but one Arnold, and that America has no truer friends than we." They immediately seized the emissaries, and handed them over to Wayne to be tried as spies. They were found guilty and executed. The reward which had been offered for the apprehension of the emissaries was tendered to the soldiers, when they crowned their act of patriotism by refusing it, saying: "Necessity wrung from us the act of demanding justice from Congress, but we desire no reward for doing our duty to our bleeding country."

At the middle of January, a part of the New Jersey line followed the example of the Pennsylvanians. Washington, perceiving the danger of allowing troops to obtain even their just rights by mutinous ways, promptly put down this second revolt by force of arms, and hanged two of the ring-leaders. These measures of justice and harshness had a salutary effect. The Congress and the people saw the necessity for more efficient measures for the support of the army, and the former sent young Colonel John Laurens abroad to negotiate loans from France. Laurens bore a letter from Washington to Vergennes, setting forth the absolute need of aid at that time, and another from the chief to Franklin, written in a similar strain. Lafayette also sent by the same hand an urgent memorial to Vergennes. When the special ambassador one day stood before that minister, and in eloquent words in the French language pressed his errand, Vergennes said coldly, that the king had "every reason to favor the United States." These words and the manner of the minister kindled the indignation of the young diplomatist, and he replied, with emphasis: "Favor, Sir! The respect which I owe to my country will not admit the term. Say that the obligation was mutual, and I will acknowledge the obligation. But, as the last argument, I shall offer to your excellency this: The sword which I now wear in defence of France as well as of my own country, unless the succor I solicit is immediately accorded, I may be compelled, within a short time, to draw against France, as a British subject." This assertion had the intended effect. Nothing was more dreaded by France at that moment than a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, and a cessation of the war for independence. A subsidy of one million two hundred thousand dollars, and a further sum as a loan, were granted. At the same time the necessity for a closer union was generally felt by the Americans, and the imperfect plan for

a national government known as the *Articles of Confederation*, already described, was ratified by the requisite number of States, on the 1st of March, 1781. In May following an amendment was offered by Mr. Madison, for establishing a stronger central government. The same month Pelatiah Webster published a pamphlet in which he recommended a convention to revise the Articles.

The ratification of the defective constitution was also followed in May (1781) by the submission of a financial plan by Robert Morris for raising money for the support of the army, which seemed ready to be disbanded by



GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

their own act. It was perceived that the Congress had no power to enforce taxation. Morris proposed the establishment of a bank at Philadelphia with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, the promissory notes of which should be a legal-tender currency to be received in payment of all taxes, duties and debts, due the United States. The plan was approved by the Congress, and that financial agent of the government was chartered with the title of *The President and Directors of the Bank of North America*. With the able guidance of Mr. Morris, who was the Secretary of the Treasury, that corporation furnished adequate means for saving the Continental army from

disbanding. He collected the taxes, and he used his private fortune freely for the public welfare.

The chief theatre of war continued to be in the South, where it was prosecuted with energy during a greater portion of 1781. On the 30th of October, 1780, General Nathaniel Greene was appointed to succeed Gates in command of the troops in the Southern States. Congress, perceiving their folly in making the Southern Department independent, gave Greene all the power which they had conferred upon their favorite, but "subject to the control of the commander-in-chief." This unity of the military forces had a most salutary effect. Greene hastened southward; and leaving Steuben in Virginia, to collect and forward troops, he reached Charlotte on the 2d of December, where he received a complaint from Cornwallis concerning the ten Tory prisoners who were hung on the tulip tree at King's Mountain. That complaint Greene quickly silenced, by sending to the earl a list of full fifty patriots who had been hanged by his orders, in South Carolina, because they were patriots; at the same time he avowed his determination to be governed by the principles of humanity, whatever the British commander might do to the contrary. Greene and his subordinates adhered to this principle, while the British leaders ridiculed the idea of extending mercy to the "rebels," whom they held to be traitors to the king and deserving of death. One of the most noted of the executors of the British will, in this regard, was Colonel William Cunningham, who was ordered by Colonel Balfour at Charleston to carry terror into the interior of South Carolina. At the head of a hundred and fifty white men and negroes, he carried out these orders during the winter of 1781. He killed every person suspected of being favorable to the American cause, and burned their houses. Full a hundred persons were murdered by this British agent, with the approval of his masters.

General Greene, with his usual energy, at once prepared to fight or pursue the enemy, as circumstances might require. He arranged his army in two divisions. With the main force he took post at Cheraw, east of the Pedee River, and sent General Daniel Morgan, the heroic leader at Saratoga, with about a thousand men, to occupy the country near the junction of the Broad and Pacolet rivers in Western South Carolina. Cornwallis, who was just preparing to march into North Carolina again, now found himself in a position of danger, for he was between two hostile forces. Unwilling to leave Morgan in his rear, he sent Tarleton to capture or disperse his troops. Before this superior force Morgan retreated over rivers and small streams, and through tangled marshes, to the Thicketty Mountains, in Spartanberg District, not far from the North Carolina line. There, near a place called



*The Cowpens*, where great herds of cattle were salted and marked by their owners, Morgan encamped on a plain covered by an open pine forest; and there he was overtaken by Tarleton, and compelled to fly again or fight. The brave soldier chose the latter, and with deliberation prepared for battle. About four hundred of his best men he arranged in battle order on a little rising ground—Maryland light infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel John Eager Howard composing the centre, and Virginia riflemen forming the



BATTLE AT THE COWPENS.

wings. Eighty dragoons, led by Lieutenant-Colonel William Washington, were placed out of sight as a reserve, and about four hundred Carolinians and Georgians under Pickens were in the advance to defend the approaches to the camp. North Carolina and Georgia sharpshooters acted as skirmishers on each flank.

Such was the disposition of Morgan's little army when, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th of January, 1781, Tarleton, with eleven hundred troops, horse and foot, with two pieces of cannon, rushed upon the republicans with loud shouts. A furious battle ensued. In a skillful movement in the form of a feigned retreat, Morgan turned so suddenly upon his pursuers, who believed the victory was secured for them, that they wavered. Seeing this, Howard charged the British line with bayonets, broke their ranks, and sent them flying in confusion. At that moment Washington's cavalry suddenly broke from their concealment, and made a successful charge upon Tarleton's horsemen. The enemy was completely routed, and



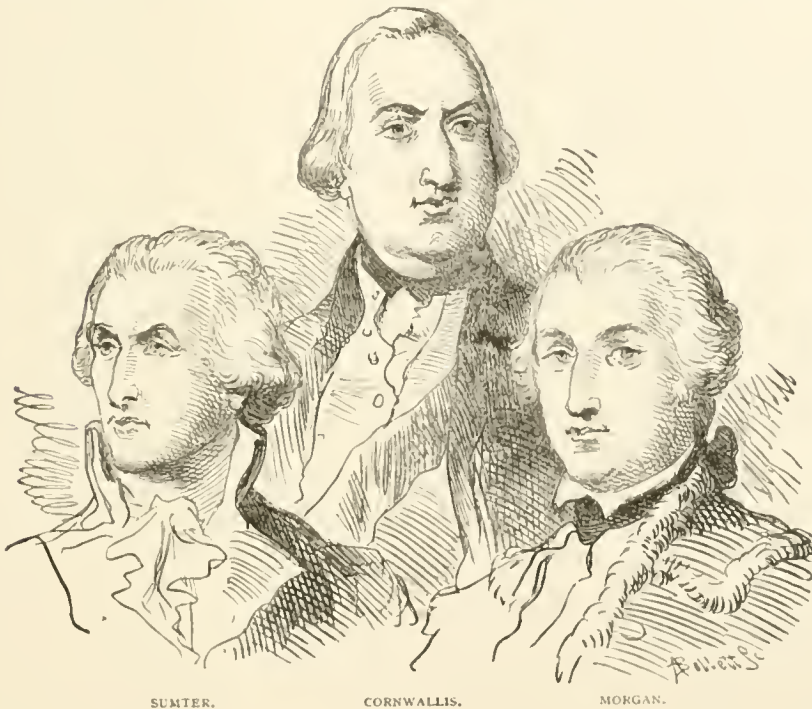
were pursued almost twenty miles in their eager flight. In this Battle of the Cowpens the Americans lost only seventy-two killed and wounded; the British lost over three hundred killed and wounded, and more than five hundred prisoners. The spoils were cannon, horses, wagons, eight hundred muskets, and two standards. The two cannon had been taken from the British at Saratoga, and were retaken by them at Camden. Tarleton's immense baggage, which he had left in the rear, was destroyed by his own men to prevent its being taken by the Americans. The Congress gave Morgan their thanks and a gold medal for his brilliant victory, and to Lieutenant-Colonels Howard and Washington each a silver medal.

At the close of the battle, Morgan pushed forward with his prisoners across the Broad River intending to pass the Catawba River and make his way toward Virginia. When Cornwallis heard of Tarleton's defeat, he started in pursuit of Morgan, with his whole army, as little encumbered with baggage as possible. He hoped to intercept the Americans at the fords of the Catawba, but he was too late. Morgan had crossed two hours before the arrival of the earl. Feeling sure of his prey, Cornwallis deferred crossing the river until morning. A heavy rain during the night swelled the stream to its brim, and he was kept back many hours. Meanwhile Morgan had reached the banks of the Yadkin, where he was joined by Greene. The latter, on hearing of the fight at the Cowpens, had left the camp at Cheraw in command of General Huger, and hastened to confer with Morgan. On the way he heard of the pursuit by Cornwallis, and sent back an order to Huger to break up the camp and join Morgan at Salisbury or Charlotte, in North Carolina. Cornwallis had been joined by troops from Camden under General Leslie; and at Ramsour's Mills (where, in June, 1780, North Carolina militia and a body of Loyalists had a sharp fight), he ordered all superfluous baggage and wagons to be destroyed. It was the 31st of January when Greene reached Morgan's camp on the Yadkin.

Now began one of the most remarkable military movements on record. It was the retreat of the Americans under Greene from the Catawba into Virginia, closely pursued by Cornwallis for about two hundred miles. When the waters of the Catawba had subsided, the earl had renewed the chase after Morgan; and he reached the western shore of the Yadkin (February 3) just as the Americans had formed for marching, on the eastern bank. Swelling floods again arrested the pursuers. Onward the retreating army pressed, but Cornwallis could not cross and give chase until the next day. At Guilford Court-House Greene was joined by his forces from the Pedee, but being still too weak to fight the stronger pursuers, he continued his flight, with the whole army, to the Dan, which he reached on the 13th of February.

The wearied troops crossed the rising flood and found repose in the bosom of Halifax county, in Virginia. The earl, unable to cross the ford because of the high water, discomfited a third time by the elements, gave up the chase, turned his face southward, and moving sullenly back through North Carolina, established his headquarters at Hillsborough.

Greene remained in Virginia only long enough to rest and recruit his army, when he recrossed the Dan (February 23) with the intention of



SUMTER.

CORNWALLIS.

MORGAN.

frustrating the efforts of Cornwallis to embody the Loyalists of North Carolina into military corps. The gallant Colonel Henry Lee, with his legion, was with Greene. At the head of his cavalry he scoured the country around the headwaters of the Haw and Deep rivers, where, by force and stratagem, he foiled Tarleton, who was recruiting among the Tories there. On the 2d of March he deceived Colonel Pyle, who was at the head of three hundred Loyalists, and near the Allamance Creek attacked, defeated, and dispersed his men. Tarleton, who was near, fled in alarm to Hillsborough, and the disheartened Tories returned to their homes. "I am among timid friends and adjoining inveterate rebels," Cornwallis wrote.

General Greene, in the meantime, had moved cautiously forward, and on the first of March found himself in command of almost five thousand effective troops. Feeling strong enough to cope with the earl, he sought an opportunity to fight him. The earl, too, was anxious to attack Greene, and on the 15th of March they met and contended fiercely near Guilford Court-House, not far from the present Greensborough, in Guilford county, North Carolina. Greene had encamped within eight miles of the earl on the evening of the 14th. The latter had been trying to bring on an engagement with the Americans, and on the morning of the 15th, he moved against Greene. The latter was prepared to receive his enemy. His main camp was upon a large hill surrounded by smaller ones, and all were covered with a forest of magnificent old trees, and thick underwood. Greene had sixteen hundred and fifty of the best veteran Continental troops, and two thousand militia; Cornwallis had nineteen hundred of the finest British veterans.

Greene disposed his army in three positions—the first at the edge of the woods on the greater hill; the second in the forest three hundred yards in the rear, and the third a little more than a fourth of a mile in the rear of the second. The first was composed of North Carolina militia, not quite eleven hundred in number and mostly raw recruits, commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton. They had two 6-pounders, with Washington's cavalry on the right wing and Lee's legion, with Campbell's militia, on the left wing. Their position was a very advantageous one. At a little past noon the British appeared on their front in full force, and, under cover of cannon-firing, they delivered a volley of musketry as they approached the Americans, and then, with a shout, rushed forward with their bayonets. The American militia fled after firing one or two volleys, when the victors, without halting, pressed on and attacked the second line composed of Virginia militia under Generals Stevens and Lawson. These were used to forest warfare and made a stout resistance for awhile, when they, too, fell back upon the regulars of the third line. Thus far the fight had been carried on by the British with their right, which was commanded by General Leslie; now Colonel Webster, who commanded the left, pressed forward with his division, in the face of a terrible fire of musketry and grape-shot. Greene commanded the Americans in person; and nearly the whole of the two armies were now in conflict. The battle lasted about two hours, when Greene, ignorant of the heavy losses of his enemy, ordered a retreat, leaving his cannon and the field to the British.

This was one of the sharpest battles of the war, and was disastrous to both armies. The Americans lost about four hundred killed and wounded, and a thousand who deserted to their homes; the loss of the British was

about six hundred. Among their mortally wounded was Colonel Webster. "Another such victory," said Charles James Fox in the House of Commons, "will ruin the British army." Fox moved (June 12) to recommend the ministers to conclude a peace, at once, with the Americans. On the same day, William Pitt, son of the great Chatham, and then only twenty-two years of age, spoke of the war against the Americans as a "most accursed" one, "wicked, barbarous, cruel, and unnatural; conceived in injustice, it was brought forth and nurtured in folly," he said; "its footsteps are marked with slaughter and devastation, while it meditates destruction to the miserable people who are the devoted objects of the resentments which produced it." Fox said: "America is lost, irrevocably lost to the country. We can lose nothing by a vote declaring America independent."

The battle at Guilford put an end to British domination in North Carolina. The forces of Cornwallis were too much shattered for him to maintain the advantage he had gained; so after issuing a proclamation, in which he boasted of his victory, called the Tories to rally to his standard and offered pardon to the "rebels," he moved, with his whole army, toward Wilmington, near the sea-board, while Greene retreated to the Reedy Fork. To these commanders might have been appropriately applied the line of a Scotch ballad:

"They baith did fight; they baith did beat; they baith did run awa."

When Greene heard of the earl's retreat, he pursued him as far as the Deep River, whence he turned back and moved toward Camden with a determination to strike a blow for the recovery of South Carolina.

Virginia, with great generosity, had sent her best troops to assist the Carolinians in their attempts to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. To prevent this movement, or to call back the Virginians to the defence of their State and so aid Cornwallis in his subjugation of the Carolinas, Arnold the traitor was sent with a marauding party of British and Tories, about sixteen hundred in number, with some armed vessels, to plunder, distress, and alarm the people of that State. In no other way could Arnold be employed by his master, for respectable British officers refused to serve with him in the army. The traitor appeared in Hampton Roads, with his motley host, at the close of December, and, ascending the James River in armed vessels and transports, he landed, with about a thousand men, at Westover, on the 2d of January, 1781. The Baron de Steuben had been left in Virginia by Greene, as we have observed, to gather up and discipline the levies voted by that State for the Southern army; and on the appearance of this new danger, the militia flocked to his standard. Believing Petersburg to be



Arnold's chief object, the Baron kept his small force on the southern side of the James River; but Arnold pushed on toward Richmond from Westover, to plunder the tobacco warehouses there. He offered to spare the town if his vessels might be permitted to carry away his plunder unmolested. The proposition was rejected with scorn by Governor Jefferson, when the invader applied the torch and laid the village and stores, public and private, in ashes. Then he withdrew to Westover, and re-embarked for a marauding raid down the river. He was pursued by Steuben and General Nelson, with Virginia militia; and having been warned by Admiral Arbuthnot, that French vessels from Rhode Island were on their way to the Chesapeake, Arnold fled up the Elizabeth River and made his headquarters at Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk.

Great efforts were made by the Americans to capture and punish Arnold. Jefferson offered five thousand guineas for his arrest, and Washington detached Lafayette, with twelve hundred troops drawn from the New England and the New Jersey levies, to march to Virginia to assist in protecting that State and catching the traitor. For the same purpose some French war-vessels were sent to the Chesapeake from Rhode Island in March, but as they could not go up the Elizabeth River, they soon returned to Newport.

Late in March, General Phillips, who had been sent from New York to Virginia with two thousand picked men, joined Arnold, and took the chief command. They went up the James River to plunder and ravage, and to attempt the subjugation of the State. They carried away or destroyed a vast amount of stores, and they also plundered the plantations of slaves and sent them to the West Indies to be sold. This formidable invasion caused widespread alarm. Lafayette was on his way, and Wayne was preparing to follow with Pennsylvanians. By a forced march of two hundred miles, the marquis reached Richmond at the close of April, twelve hours before Phillips and Arnold appeared on the opposite side of the river. He had just been joined by militia under Steuben, and they held the invaders in check. Two weeks later Phillips died at Petersburg of a malignant fever, when the command devolved upon Arnold a few days, until the arrival of Cornwallis, who, abandoning North Carolina, had marched into Virginia, hoping by that movement to draw Greene away from Lord Rawdon, then encamped at Camden. The earl so heartily despised Arnold that he could not endure him in his camp, and he sent him to New York. During the few days that the latter was in command he wrote an official letter to Lafayette, who returned it unopened, for he would have no communication with a traitor. One day Arnold found an intelligent young man among his prisoners, and questioned him respecting the feelings of his countrymen. "If the Americans should catch me, what would they do with me?" he asked. The



prisoner promptly replied: "They would bury, with military honors, your leg wounded at Quebec and Saratoga, and hang the rest of you."

Cornwallis determined to make the Virginians feel his power. He seized all the fine horses he could find along the James River, with which he mounted almost six hundred cavalry, whom he sent after Lafayette, then not far distant from Richmond, with three thousand troops, waiting for Wayne and his Pennsylvanians. The vigilant marquis fell slowly back,



WANTON DESTRUCTION OF LIVE-STOCK.

keeping north of the earl. He crossed the South and North Anna rivers, and at Raccoon's Ford, on the Rapid Anna River, he met Wayne with eight hundred men. Cornwallis had pursued him as far as Hanover Court-House, from which place the earl sent Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, with his *Queen's Rangers*, to capture or destroy stores in charge of Steuben at the Point of Forks, at the junction of the Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers. Steuben, warned of his approach, had taken most of his stores beyond the Fluvanna, which Simcoe's horses could not ford. Tarleton had been detached at the same time with orders to capture Governor Jefferson and the members of the Virginia legislature at Charlottesville, whither they had fled from Richmond. Only seven of the law-makers were captured. Jefferson narrowly escaped by fleeing from his house on horseback, accompanied by a single servant, and hiding himself in the mountains. He had left his dwelling only ten minutes before one of Tarleton's officers entered it.

Cornwallis was now at Jefferson's Elk Hill plantation, near the Point of

Forks, where he committed the most wanton destruction of property, cutting the throats of young horses not fit for service, slaughtering the cattle, burning the barns with the crops of the previous year, and destroying the growing ones, laying all the fences on the estate in ashes, and carrying away about thirty slaves. The agile Lafayette had now turned upon the earl. The latter supposing the forces of the marquis to be much greater than they really were, turned his face toward the sea-coast and retreated down the peninsula to Williamsburg, making his pathway a black line of desolation. It is estimated that during this invasion of Virginia, from the advent of Arnold in January, until Cornwallis reached Williamsburg late in June, property to the value of fifteen million dollars was destroyed, and thirty thousand slaves were carried off. The British had been closely followed by Lafayette, Wayne and Steuben, and were allowed to rest at Williamsburg. They were there reinforced, and were protected by shipping.

A few days after reaching Williamsburg, Cornwallis received an order from Sir Henry Clinton to send three thousand of his troops to New York, then menaced by the combined American and French forces. Clinton also directed the earl to take a defensive position in Virginia at some healthy location, and fortify it. This order greatly irritated the earl, for he regarded it as an intentional frustration of his own plan for an active campaign in Virginia. He aspired to Clinton's place, and was a favorite of Germain. Clinton knew that, and for a long time the two commanders had been excessively jealous of each other.

Cornwallis, satisfied that after he should send away so large a detachment of his army he could not cope with Lafayette, determined to cross the James River and make his way to Portsmouth. This movement was accelerated by the bold attitude of the republican troops, who were pressing close upon him. On the 6th of July, a detachment sent out by Wayne to capture a British field-piece, boldly resisted a large portion of Cornwallis's army, as the former fell back to Lafayette's main force near the Green Spring plantation, the estate of Governor Berkeley, where a sharp skirmish occurred, in which the marquis had a horse shot under him, and each party lost about a hundred men. The blow was so severe that Cornwallis hastened to cross the river, which he did on the 9th of July, and marched without further molestation to Portsmouth. Disliking that situation, he went to Yorktown, on the York River, and there, upon a high and healthful plain, he established a fortified camp. He also threw up strong military works at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. Here we will leave the earl, while we take a brief survey of military events in the Carolinas.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

BATTLE BETWEEN GREENE AND RAWDON NEAR CAMDEN—RAWDON ABANDONS CAMDEN—CAPTURE OF BRITISH POSTS—PATRIOTISM OF MRS. MOTTE—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF AUGUSTA—SIEGE OF FORT NINETY-SIX—GREENE RAISES THE SIEGE AND PURSUES RAWDON—THE BRAVE EMILY GEIGER—GREENE ON THE HIGH HILLS OF SANTEE—MURDER OF ISAAC HAYNE—GREENE PURSUES STEWART—BATTLE AT EUTAW SPRINGS—GREENE RETURNS TO THE SANTEE HILLS—THE BRITISH DRIVEN INTO CHARLESTON—JUNCTION OF THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH TROOPS—ARNOLD'S RAID INTO CONNECTICUT—GATHERING OF TROOPS AT WILLIAMSBURG—SIEGE OF YORKTOWN—SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

GREENE perceived that the possession of the interior of South Carolina depended on the posts at Camden and Ninety-Six, and he resolved to capture them. Lord Rawdon was in command at Camden with a force nine hundred in number, and strongly intrenched. When Greene relinquished the pursuit of Cornwallis, he marched directly against Rawdon, and arrived within a mile of his intrenchments on the 19th of April, 1781. The works were too strong for Greene's force to assail, and the latter were not numerous enough to invest them and begin a siege; so he withdrew to Hobkirk's Hill, a well-wooded eminence northward of Camden, and encamped within a mile and a half of Rawdon's intrenchments, where he awaited expected reinforcements under Sumter. There, on the 24th, he heard of the capture of a post at Wright's Bluff, below Camden, by Marion and Lee, and was impatient to fall upon Rawdon, for he was informed that almost five hundred troops were marching up the Santee to reinforce the latter. That night a drummer deserted to the enemy, and informed Rawdon of the weakness of Greene and his expectation of reinforcements immediately. Rawdon's provisions were almost exhausted, he saw no chance for success in battle excepting in an immediate surprise and attack. So he prepared to fall upon Greene early in the morning of the 25th.

At dawn Greene's cavalry, who had been on duty all night, were dismounted, their horses were unsaddled, and they were taking refreshments preparatory to a few hours repose. Some of the other soldiers were washing their clothes, and Greene and his staff were at a spring on the eastern slope

of Hobkirk's Hill, at breakfast. Rawdon had sallied out with his whole garrison, and by marching unperceived along the margin of a swamp, had gained the left flank of the Americans. Greene, partially surprised, quickly formed his little army in battle-line. His cavalry were immediately remounted. The Virginia brigade under General Huger, with Lieutenant-Colonels Campbell and Hawes, formed the right; the Maryland brigade (with Delaware troops under Kirkwood), led by Colonel Williams, with Colonel Gunby and Lieutenant-Colonels Ford and Howard, occupied the left, and the artillery under Colonel Harrison were in the centre, on the road. Washington's cavalry were directed to make a circuit through the woods and fall upon the rear of the enemy, and North Carolina militia were held as a reserve. In this position Greene prepared to receive the on-coming Rawdon. As the British troops moved slowly up the slope, with a narrow front, the regiments of Campbell and Ford were ordered to turn their flanks, and Gunby's Marylanders to assail their front with bayonets, without firing. The battle now opened with great vigor, the Virginians led by Greene in person. The artillery hurled grape-shot with deadly effect, when the British line wavered, and the Americans felt sure of gaining a victory. At that moment Captain Beatty, commanding a company of Gunby's veterans, was killed, and his followers gave way. Unfortunately an order followed for the whole regiment to retire, when the British broke through the American centre, pushed up the brow of the hill, and forced Greene to retreat. Washington, meanwhile, had succeeded in capturing about two hundred of the British soldiers, whose officers he quickly paroled; and in the retreat he carried away fifty of the captives. The Americans were chased a short distance, when Washington, turning upon his pursuers, by a gallant charge checked them. Greene saved all of his artillery and baggage, rallied his men at Rugeley's, crossed the Wateree River above Camden, and took a strong position to rest before marching on Ninety-Six. The loss of each was less than two hundred and seventy. This defeat was unexpected to Greene, and disconcerted him at first, but his genius and courage were equal to the occasion.

Rawdon followed Greene a little way beyond the Wateree, but finding the communication between Camden and Charleston broken by American partisans, he resolved to abandon the whole country north of the Congaree. He ordered Colonel Cruger to leave Fort Ninety-Six, and join a British force at Augusta; and on the 10th of May, after burning his stores and public and private buildings at Camden, Rawdon left that post forever, and marched down to Nelson's Ferry on the Santee, to drive off Marion and Lee, then besieging Fort Motte. But within six days afterward the post at Nelson's



Ferry, Fort Granby near the site of the city of Columbia, Fort Motte on the Congaree, and Orangeburg near the waters of the Edisto, fell into the hands of the Americans. Fort Motte was composed of the fine residence of Mrs. Rebecca Motte (a widowed mother with six children), and temporary fortifications constructed around it. Mrs. Motte was an ardent Whig, and had been driven from her house by the British. She had taken refuge at her



A DISPLAY OF GENUINE PATRIOTISM.

farm-house on a hill near by, when Marion and Lee approached with a considerable force. They had no artillery, and could make only a slight impression upon the fort. What was to be done had to be done quickly. Lee proposed to dislodge the enemy by hurling some combustible material upon the roof of the building and setting it on fire. Mrs. Motte readily consented to this destruction of her property. She brought out a strong Indian bow and some arrows, and with these a soldier, expert in their use, sent fire to the dry roof. When it burst into a flame, the alarmed garrison, one hundred and sixty-five in number, surrendered. The patriotic owner then



regaled both the American and British officers with a good dinner at her own table.

Marion now hastened to attack a British post at Georgetown; and Lee pushed forward toward the Savannah to aid Pickens and Clarke in holding the country between Ninety-Six and Augusta, to prevent the garrison at either place joining the other. In this they were successful. Rawdon's order to Cruger to evacuate Ninety-Six reached him when the pathway between that post and Augusta was closed by the partisan rangers; and Rawdon, alarmed by the rapid and successful movements of these partisans, fled toward the sea-coast, and did not halt until he reached Monks' Corners, well down toward Charleston. Pickens and Clarke had kept watch over the British at Augusta, and when, on the 20th of May, they were joined by Lee, they proceeded to invest the fort there. Fort Galphin, twelve miles below Augusta, was taken on the 21st of May, and then an officer was sent to demand the surrender of the main fort. Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, one of the most cruel of the Tories of that region, who was in command, refused to surrender, when a regular siege began. A general assault was about to be made on the 4th of June, when Brown proposed to surrender, and on the following day this important post passed into the hands of the Americans. In that siege the Americans lost fifty-one killed and wounded, and the British parted with fifty-two in the same way, and over three hundred made prisoners. At the close of the siege, Lee and Pickens hastened to Ninety-Six, then beleaguered by the forces of Greene.

Kosciuszko was Greene's chief engineer, and with that skillful officer he began the siege of Ninety-Six on the 22d of May, with about a thousand men. The garrison numbered five hundred and fifty. The post was well fortified, and Cruger was a brave soldier. Some troops having arrived from Ireland early in June, Lord Rawdon, thus reinforced, hastened to the relief of the beleaguered fort, with about two thousand men. His approach was heralded by a horseman in the garb of a planter, who rode along the American lines at twilight one evening, and talked freely with the officers. It was a common occurrence, and attracted no special attention. When he reached the road leading directly to the fort, he put spurs to his horse and dashed toward the gate of the fortress followed by a score of bullets. He reached the portal unharmed, bearing in his upraised hand a large letter. It was a despatch to Cruger from Rawdon, announcing his approach. The former had not heard from the writer since he fled from Camden; and he was so hard pressed by the besiegers, who had cut off his water supply, that he was contemplating a surrender. The news encouraged the garrison to endure a little longer. When, on the 18th of June, Rawdon was drawing nigh,

Greene attempted to take the fort by storm. It was a disastrous failure. Only one of every six of the assailants escaped unhurt; one-third of them were killed. On the following day Greene raised the siege and fled beyond the Saluda, pursued some distance by the garrison.

The chief commanders of the contending armies now changed their relative positions. As the post of Ninety-Six could not be held, Rawdon ordered its abandonment. Leaving Cruger and the garrison to assist the



ARREST OF EMILY GEIGER.

loyalists in fleeing to Charleston from the wrath of their incensed neighbors, he pushed on toward Orangeburg, with about a thousand men, pursued by Greene, but avoiding a contest with him. Greene sent a message to Marion and Sumter, then on the Santee, to take a position in front of the enemy and impede his progress. His messenger was Emily Geiger, daughter of a German planter. No man in the army was willing to attempt the hazardous service, for the Tories were on the alert. The brave young girl was not more than eighteen years of age. She volunteered to carry a letter to Sumter. With his usual caution Greene told her its contents, so that, in case she might find occasion to destroy it, she could still bear the message to the partisan. The brave maiden mounted a fleet horse, crossed the

Wateree at the Camden Ferry, and while passing through a dry swamp on the second day of her journey, she was arrested by some Tory scouts. As she came from the direction of Greene's army, she was suspected of being a messenger. They took her to a house on the edge of the swamp, and with proper delicacy employed a woman to search her person. No sooner was she left alone than she ate up Greene's letter, piece by piece. The matron who was sent for searched in vain for any scrap of paper. Her captors made many apologies for detaining her, and Emily passed on to Sumter's camp. Very soon he and Marion were co-operating with Greene in sorely pressing the troops of Rawdon. Emily Geiger afterward married a rich planter on the Congaree.

When Greene approached Orangeburg, he found Rawdon reinforced and so strongly intrenched that he did not deem it prudent to attack him; and as the heats of summer were approaching, he crossed the Congaree and in July encamped his army on the High Hills of Santee, famous for the salubrity of the air and the purity of the water. Then Rawdon, leaving the troops at Orangeburg in command of Colonel Stewart, went down to Charleston, and complaining of ill-health soon embarked for England. A short time before he sailed, he was a party to an inhuman transaction. Among those who took protection after the fall of Charleston was Isaac Hayne, a planter in the low country. When the British were driven out of his section, by Greene's troops, they could no longer give him protection, and feeling himself relieved from the obligation which it had imposed, he took command of a regiment of South Carolina militia. While in arms he was made prisoner. Colonel Balfour, then in command at Charleston, hesitated in disposing of him; but when Rawdon arrived, that officer, pursuant to the spirit of Cornwallis's orders, directed Hayne to be hung. This was done without even the form of a trial. Not even the prisoner anticipated such harsh treatment, until he was informed that he had not two days to live. The patriot's children, the women of Charleston, the lieutenant-governor of the province, all pleaded for his life in vain. The savage sentence was executed, and Isaac Hayne has been embalmed in history as a martyr. After Balfour's death, Rawdon tried to fix the ignominy of the act on that officer. It aroused the fiercest indignation even among moderate men who were inclined to feel kindly toward British rule; and the patriotic women of Charleston could not, at times, restrain their feelings of contempt for British officers after that. One day when Colonel Balfour was walking in the garden of Charles Elliot, in Charleston, with the wife of that gentleman, he pointed to a chamomile flower, and asked its name. "The rebel flower," said Mrs. Elliot. "And why is it called the rebel flower?" inquired Balfour,

"Because," replied the patriotic woman, "it always flourishes most when trampled upon."

Greene did not tarry long on the High Hills of Santee. He was reinforced there by North Carolina troops early in August, and toward the close of that month he crossed the Congaree with a greater part of his force, and marched upon Orangeburg. Stewart had just been joined by Cruger and the garrison of Fort Ninety-Six, but he immediately fled eastward forty miles and pitched his tents at Eutaw Springs, near the Santee. So secretly and skillfully was he pursued by Greene, that he was not fully aware that the republicans were after him until they were close upon his heels; and near the Springs a severe battle was fought on the 8th of September, 1781. Greene had moved before the dawn in two columns so stealthily that it was almost a surprise. The centre of his first line was composed of North Carolina militia-men, with a battalion of South Carolina militia on each flank commanded respectively by Marion and Pickens. The second line consisted of North Carolina regulars led by General Sumner, on the right; an equal number of Virginians under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell in the centre, and Marylanders commanded by Colonel Williams, on the left. Lee's legion covered the right flank, and troops led by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson covered the left. Washington's cavalry with Kirkwood's Delawares formed a reserve, and each line had artillery on its front. Skirmishing commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and very soon the fight became general and very severe. The British were defeated and driven from the field with much loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The victory was complete, when the Americans, like those under Sumter at Hanging Rock, spread over the deserted camp of the enemy, eating, drinking, and plundering. Very suddenly and unexpectedly the British renewed the battle, and after a terrible conflict for about five hours the Americans, who had lost heavily, were compelled to give way. Stewart felt insecure, for the partisan legions were not far away; so, that night, after breaking up a thousand muskets and destroying stores, he retreated toward Charleston. Early the next morning (September 9, 1781) Greene sent parties in pursuit, who chased the fugitives far toward the city by the sea, and then took possession of the battle-field. Although the advantage lay with the Americans, neither party could claim a victory. In killed, wounded and prisoners, the British lost full eight hundred men; the Americans lost about five hundred and fifty. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington was severely wounded in the second battle on that day, and was made a prisoner. For his good conduct on that occasion, Greene was presented by Congress with a vote of thanks, a gold medal, and a British standard taken



in the fight. Having a large number of sick soldiers, he left Eutaw Springs a few days after the battle, and again encamped on the High Hills of Santee, where he remained until the middle of November, when he marched his army into the low country, where he might obtain an abundance of food. Meanwhile his partisan corps under Marion, Sumter, Lee and others had been driving the British force from post to post in the low country, and smiting Tory bands in every direction. The British finally evacuated all of their interior stations and retired to Charleston, pursued almost to the verge of the city by partisan troops. Greene's main army occupied a position



GENERAL FRANCIS MARION.

between that city and Jacksonborough, where the South Carolina legislature had resumed its sessions. That able and skillful leader had not won victories in the field, but had accomplished the objects for which he fought. In the course of nine months he had recovered the three Southern States, and at the close of 1781, he had all the British troops below Virginia hemmed in the cities of Charleston and Savannah, General Wayne and his little army becoming the jailers at the latter place at the opening of 1782.

While these events were occurring south of Virginia, important ones had taken place in that State. We left Cornwallis at Yorktown establishing a fortified camp there. Lafayette had taken a position with his little army eight miles from

the British lines "to oppose the projects of the Court of St. James and the fortunes of Lord Cornwallis," he wrote to old Maurepas. He had plainly perceived the mistake of Clinton in ordering Cornwallis to take a defensive position in Virginia; and as early as July, he wrote to Washington from Randolph's, on Malvern Hill, urging him to march into Virginia in force, and saying, "Should a French fleet enter Hampton Roads, the British army would be compelled to surrender." The Count de Grasse was, at that time, in command of the French fleet in the West Indies, and Washington had received assurances that he would co-operate with the allied armies in any



undertaking that promised success. Meanwhile Rochambeau had led the French army from New England to the Hudson River, and the junction of the American forces and their allies was effected on the 6th of July, near Dobbs Ferry.

At that time Washington was contemplating an attack on the British in New York. Preparations were made for the movement; but before De Grasse was ready to co-operate with them, Sir Henry Clinton was reinforced by three thousand troops from England. They arrived at New York on the 11th of August. At about the same time Washington was informed that De Grasse could not leave the West Indies just then. Thus foiled, the commander-in-chief turned his thoughts toward Virginia, to which Lafayette had invited him. Thenceforth his plans were made in reference to an autumn campaign in that State. While he was yet uncertain what course it was best to pursue in the absence of a co-operating French fleet, he received from De Barras, the successor of Admiral de Ternay, who had died at Newport, the joyful intelligence that De Grasse was to sail for the Chesapeake Bay at the close of August with a powerful naval armament, and more than three thousand land troops. De Barras wrote: "M. de Grasse is my junior; yet, as soon as he is within reach, I will go to sea to put myself under his orders."

Washington had made ample preparations for marching into Virginia. To prevent any interference from Sir Henry Clinton he wrote deceptive letters to be intercepted, by which the British general was made to believe that his enemy still contemplated an attack upon New York. So satisfied was he that such was Washington's designs, that for nearly ten days after the allied armies had crossed the Hudson (August 23 and 24) and were marching through New Jersey, he believed the movement was only a feint to cover a sudden descent upon the city in overwhelming force. It was not until the 2d of September that he was convinced that the allies were marching against Cornwallis. Then he rejoiced that on the arrival of his reinforcements, he had countermanded his order for Cornwallis to send troops to New York.

On the 5th of September the allied armies encamped at Chester, in Pennsylvania, where Washington received news that De Grasse with his ships and land troops had entered Chesapeake Bay. The heart of the commander-in-chief was filled with joy, for in this event he saw a sure prophecy of success and the security of independence for his country. De Grasse had moored the most of his fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, barred the York River against reinforcements for Cornwallis, and landed three thousand troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, on the peninsula, near old James-

town. Meanwhile De Barras had sailed from Newport, with a fleet conveying ten transports laden with ordnance for the siege of Yorktown. Arbuthnot had been succeeded in command of the British fleet at New York by Admiral Graves, a coarse, vulgar, and inefficient man. That officer, on hearing of the approach of the French fleet, sailed for the Chesapeake. De Grasse went out to meet him, and on the 5th of September they had a sharp fight, in which the British fleet was so much damaged that it returned to New York, leaving De Grasse master of the Chesapeake.

When Clinton was assured that Washington was really leading the armies to Virginia, he tried to recall some of the troops by menacing posts at the North. He threatened New Jersey, and caused a rumor to go abroad that he was about to attack the American works in the Hudson Highlands with a strong force. He also sent Arnold on a marauding expedition into New England. The traitor, with a band of regulars and Tories, crossed the Sound from Long Island, and on the 6th of September, landed his troops on each side of the Thames below New London. That town, which could offer very little resistance, was plundered and burned. Fort Griswold, at Groton, opposite New London, was taken by storm after a gallant defence by Colonel Ledyard and his little garrison of one hundred and fifty poorly-armed militia-men. Only six of the Americans were killed in the fight; but after the surrender, the British officer in command murdered Colonel Ledyard with his sword, and refused to give quarter to the garrison. Seventy-three were massacred. Some were badly wounded, and others were carried away captive. Some of the wounded were placed in a baggage-wagon at the brow of the hill on which the fort yet stands, and it was sent down the rough and steep slope, a hundred rods, with great violence, for the purpose of plunging the helpless victims into the river. The jolting caused some of the wounded to expire, while the cries of agony from the lips of the survivors were heard across the river in the midst of the crackling noise of the burning town. An apple-tree had arrested the course of the wagon, and there the sufferers remained more than an hour, when their captors laid them on the beach and left them to die. Friendly hands conveyed them to a house near by, where they were cared for by tender women. With this atrocious expedition the name of Benedict Arnold disappears from history.

Neither Clinton's threats nor Arnold's atrocities stayed the onward march of the allied troops. It was intended to transport them by water from the head of Elk (now Elkton, in Maryland), but there were not sufficient vessels there for the purpose, and a greater portion of them made their way to Annapolis by land. Afterward the whole of the allies were carried by water to the James River by transports from the squadron of De Barras.

From Baltimore, where he arrived on the 8th of September, Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau and the Marquis de Chastellux, journeyed to his home at Mount Vernon, from which he had been absent since July, 1775. There they remained two days, when they departed for Williamsburgh, and arrived there on the 14th. Washington immediately repaired to the *Ville de Paris*, De Grasse's flag-ship, lying off Cape Henry, to meet the admiral, and to congratulate him on his victory over Graves on the 5th. There satisfactory arrangements were made for a combined attack upon Yorktown by land and water, as soon as the troops should reach Williamsburgh. While waiting for the slowly approaching forces, word came that the British fleet at New York had been reinforced. De Grasse proposed to leave some frigates to blockade the York River, and go out in his great ships in quest of the enemy. There would be great danger in such a movement. The British fleet might enter Chesapeake Bay, and assist Cornwallis in making his escape. Washington perceived the peril, and persuaded De Grasse to remain. The last division of the allied forces reached Williamsburgh on the 25th of September, when preparations for the siege were immediately begun.

Cornwallis had solicited aid from Clinton. On the 17th he wrote: "This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst." On the same day a council of Clinton's officers in New York decided that Cornwallis must be relieved "before the end of October"—and so he was, but not by their aid.

On the 28th the allied armies marched from Williamsburgh, about twelve thousand in number, to begin the siege of Yorktown, twelve miles distant, driving in the British outposts on the way. Some of the allies took possession of outworks which the British had abandoned, and then sent out covering parties for the diggers of trenches and builders of redoubts. The line of the allies extended in a semicircle about two miles from the British works, each wing resting on the York River, and on the 30th the place was completely invested. On account of the possession of the abandoned outworks, the allies were in an advantageous position to command the British lines and carry on the siege by opening trenches. The enemy at Gloucester were imprisoned by the French dragoons under the Duke De Lauzun, Virginia militia under General Weedon, and eight hundred French marines. Only once did the British attempt offensive operations from that point. Tarleton and his legion once sallied out, but were soon driven back by Lauzun's cavalry, who took Tarleton's horse a prisoner and came near capturing its owner.

In the besieging line the French troops occupied the left, the West India

troops of St. Simon on the extreme flank. The Americans were on the right, and the French artillery, with the quarters of the two commanders, occupied the centre. The American artillery under General Knox were on the right. De Grasse remained in Lynn Haven Bay to beat off any British fleet that might attempt to relieve Cornwallis.

On the night of the 6th of October, the heavy ordnance had been brought from the vessels, and trenches were begun at a distance of six hundred yards from the British works. The night was dark and stormy, and at dawn the Americans, working under the command of General Lincoln, had completed the first parallel, their labors being entirely unsuspected by the British sentinels. On the afternoon of the 9th several batteries and redoubts were completed, and a general discharge of heavy guns was begun by the Americans on the right. All night long cannon thundered, and the roar of artillery was increased early in the morning when the French on the left opened several batteries. At evening (October 10) the French hurled red-hot cannon-ball upon British vessels in the river, which fired the *Charon*, a 44-gun ship, and three heavy transports, and all were consumed. The whole scene that night was one of terrible grandeur.

On the night of the 11th the allies began the second parallel within three hundred yards of the British works. This labor was not discovered by the enemy until daylight, when they brought heavy guns to bear upon the diggers. It took them days to complete this second parallel. Two redoubts that commanded the trenches and greatly annoyed the diggers were breeched by the cannon-balls of the besiegers on the 14th, when it was determined to attempt to take them by storm. One on the right, near the York River, was garrisoned by forty-five men; the one on the left was manned by about one hundred and twenty men. The capture of the former was intrusted to Americans led by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, and that of the latter to French grenadiers led by Count Deuxponts. At a given signal Hamilton advanced in two columns—one led by Major Fish, the other by Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat, Lafayette's aid, while Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, with eighty men, turned the redoubt to intercept a retreat. The assailants leaped the *abatis* and the palisades with so much celerity, and attacked the garrison so furiously, that the redoubt was captured in a few minutes with little loss on either side. Laurens was among the first to enter the work and make the commander, Major Campbell, a prisoner. The life of every man who ceased to resist was spared. In the meantime the French, after a severe struggle with ball and bayonet (in which they lost about a hundred men in killed and wounded), captured the other redoubt in a similar manner. As they charged the garrison with the bayonet, Deuxponts, their



leader, shouted "Vive le Roi!" and the cry was echoed by his followers. Washington, with Knox and some others, had watched these movements with intense anxiety; and when he saw both redoubts in possession of his troops, he turned to Knox and said, "The work 's done, and well done." Then calling to his favorite body-servant, he said: "Billy, hand me my horse." That night both redoubts were included in the second parallel.



CAPTURE OF A REDOUBT AT YORKTOWN

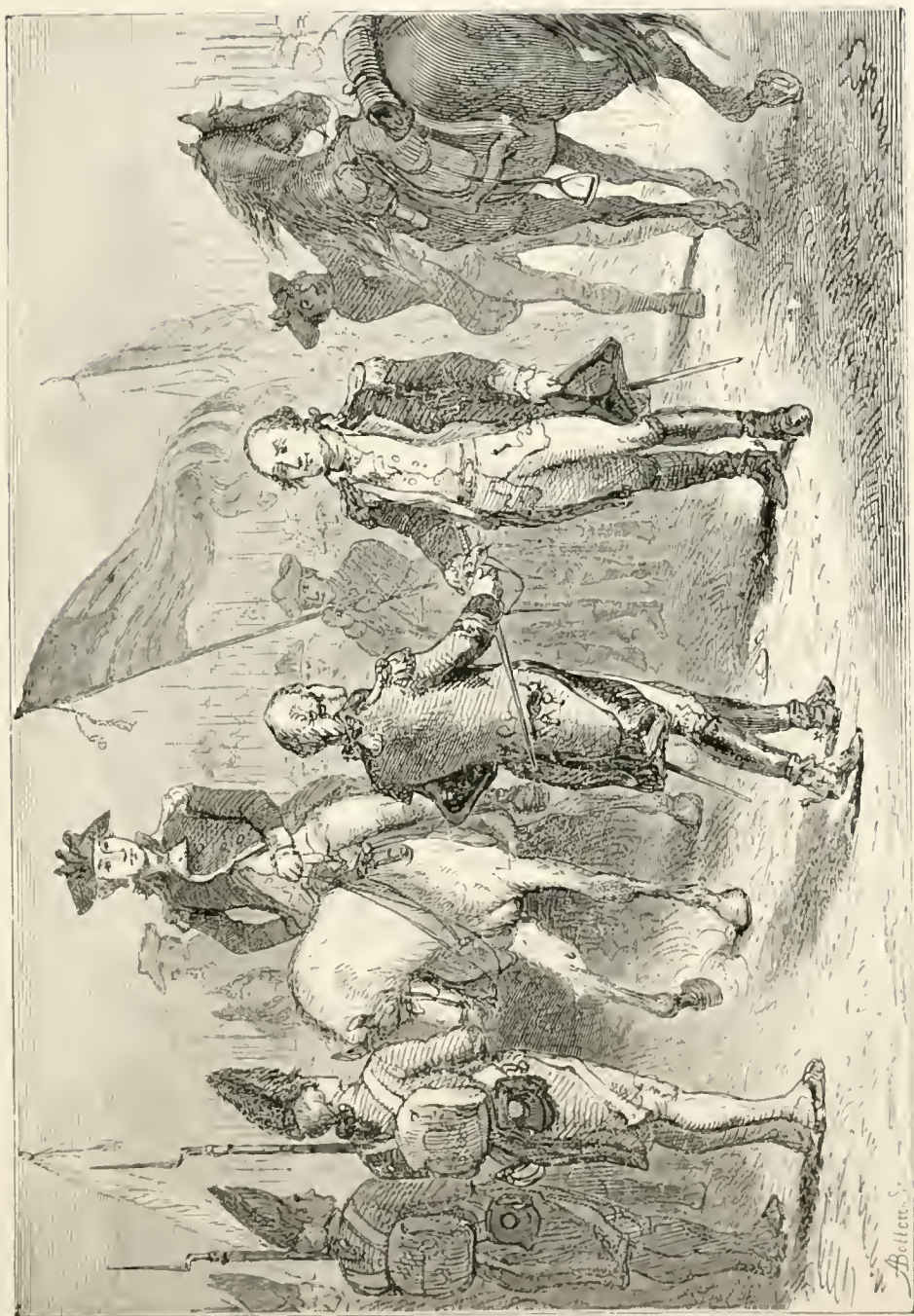
The situation of Cornwallis was now becoming desperate. A superior force environed him, and his works were crumbling; and he knew that when the second parallel of the besiegers should be completed, his post would be untenable. He resolved to make an effort to escape by abandoning his baggage and sick, crossing the river with his troops to Gloucester, cutting up or dispersing the allies who were imprisoning the British garrison there, and by rapid marches gaining the forks of the Rappahannock and Potomac, and, forcing his way through Maryland and Pennsylvania, join Clinton at New York. Boats for the passage of the York were prepared, and on the evening of the 16th a part of the troops were carried over to Gloucester, when a furious storm of wind and rain, as sudden as a summer tornado, arose and made any further attempt to pass the river too hazardous to be undertaken. The troops were brought back. The earl lost hope. The bombardment of his lines was very severe and destructive, and on the 17th he proposed to surrender. On the following day Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens and Viscount de Noailles (a relative of Lafayette's wife), as commissioners on the



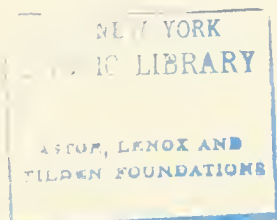
part of the allies, met Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas and Major Ross of the British army, and drafted a capitulation. The terms were similar to those demanded of Lincoln at Charleston. All the troops were to be prisoners of war, and all public property was to be surrendered. All slaves and plunder found in possession of the British might be reclaimed by their owners; otherwise, private property was to be respected. The loyalists were abandoned to the mercies or resentments of their countrymen. Such were the general terms; but by the packet which carried his despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, Cornwallis managed to send away persons who were most obnoxious to the Americans.

Late in the afternoon of the 19th of October, 1781, the surrender of Cornwallis and his army took place. The allied troops were drawn up in two columns. Washington on his white charger was at the head of the Americans; and Rochambeau on a powerful bay horse at the head of the French columns. A vast concourse of people from the surrounding country were spectators of the impressive scene. Cornwallis, feigning sickness, sent General O'Hara with his sword, as his representative. That officer led the vanquished troops out of their intrenchments with their colors cased, and marched them between the victorious columns. When he arrived at their head he approached Washington to hand him the earl's sword, when the commander-in-chief directed him to General Lincoln as his representative. It was a proud moment for Lincoln. Only the year before he had been compelled to make a humiliating surrender to royal troops at Charleston. He led the subdued army to the field where they were to lay down their arms, and then received from O'Hara the sword of Cornwallis, which he politely returned to be given back to the earl. The standards, twenty-eight in number, were then given up, and the royal army laid down their arms.

The whole number of troops surrendered was about seven thousand. To these must be added two thousand sailors, eighteen hundred negroes, and fifteen hundred Tories, making the total number of prisoners over twelve thousand. Besides these, the British lost in killed, wounded and missing during the siege, about five hundred and fifty men; the loss of the Americans was about three hundred. The spoils of victory were nearly eight thousand muskets; seventy-five brass and one hundred and sixty iron cannon, and a large quantity of munitions of war and stores. To accomplish this great victory, the French had provided thirty-seven ships-of-the-line and seven thousand men; and the Americans furnished nine thousand troops, of which number five thousand five hundred were regulars.



GENERAL LINCOLN RECEIVING CORNWALLIS'S SWORD FROM GENERAL O'HARA.



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

EFFECT OF THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS, IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES—THE NEWS IN PHILADELPHIA—SCENES IN PARLIAMENT—NEGOTIATIONS FOR A TREATY OF PEACE BEGUN—VARIOUS MILITARY MOVEMENTS—WASHINGTON ADOPTS HIS STEP-SON'S CHILDREN—AFFAIRS IN SOUTH CAROLINA—EVACUATION OF SAVANNAH AND CHARLESTON—PEACE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED—PRELIMINARY TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN—TREATY WITH HOLLAND—GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES—A BUDDING CONSPIRACY REBUKED BY WASHINGTON—DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH ARMY—SEDITIONOUS MOVEMENT AT NEWBURGH FOILED BY WASHINGTON—GRADUAL DISBANDING OF THE ARMY—TREATY WITH SWEDEN—DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESSES—THE TWO ARMIES—EVACUATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—THE LAST COMBAT.

ON the day after the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington, in general orders, expressed his great approbation of both armies. That all his soldiers might participate in the general joy and thanksgiving he ordered every one under arrest or in confinement to be set at liberty and as the following day would be the Sabbath, he closed his orders by directing divine service to be performed in the several brigades on the morrow.

The surrender of so large a portion of the British army in America secured the independence of the United States. The blow of final disseverance had fallen: war would no longer serve a useful purpose: humanity and sound policy counselled peace. The king and his ministers were astounded when the news of the surrender reached them. Lord North received the intelligence, said Germain, "as he would have taken a cannon-ball in his breast, for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment a few minutes, 'O God, it is all over!' words which he repeated many times under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." The stubborn king was amazed and greatly disturbed, but he soon recovered his calmness and wrote in view of propositions in the Parliament to give up the contest: "No difficulties can get me to consent to the getting of peace at the expense of a separation from America."

Great was the exultation and joy of the Americans as the news of the surrender went from lip to lip throughout the Union. Lieutenant-Colonel Tighlman, one of Washington's aids, rode express to Philadelphia to carry the despatches of his chief announcing the joyful tidings to the Congress.



It was midnight (October 23) when he entered the city. Thomas McKean, then President of the Congress, resided on High Street near Second Street. Tighlman knocked so violently at his door that a watchman was disposed to arrest him as a disturber of the peace. McKean arose, received the messenger with joy, and soon the glad tidings spread over the city. The watchmen proclaiming the hour, and the usual cry "All's well!" added "and Cornwallis is taken!" That announcement, going out upon the frosty night air, called thousands from their beds. The old State-House bell that sounded so clearly when independence was declared more than five years before, now rang out tones of gladness. Lights were seen moving in almost every house; and very soon the streets were thronged with men and women, all eager to know the details. It was a night of great joy in Philadelphia, for the people had anxiously waited for news from Yorktown. The first flush of morning was greeted with the booming of cannon; and at an early hour the Congress assembled and heard Charles Thompson read the despatch from Washington. That grave Senate could hardly repress huzzas while the Secretary read; and at its conclusion it was resolved to go in a body, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to the Dutch Lutheran Church, and "return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success." Six days afterward that body voted thanks and appropriate honors to Washington, Rochambeau, and De Grasse and their officers, and resolved that a marble column should be erected at Yorktown with emblems of the alliance in commemoration of the event. The Congress also appointed a day for a grand thanksgiving and prayer throughout the Union, on account of the signal mark of Divine power. Legislative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private societies presented congratulatory addresses to the commanding generals and their officers; and from almost every pulpit in the land arose the voice of thanksgiving and praise accompanied by the alleluiahs of thousands of worshipers before the altars of the Lord of Hosts.

The Duke de Lauzun bore the glad tidings to France, where he found the king and court rejoicing because of the birth of a dauphin, or heir to the French throne. The news reached England by way of France on the 25th of November, and produced the effect already noticed. The city of London petitioned the king to "put an end to the unnatural and unfortunate war;" and in Parliament, a great and rapid change of opinion on the subject was visible. Late in February General Conway, in the House of Commons, moved to address the king in favor of peace, when warm debates arose, Lord North defending the royal policy with vigor on the ground of its justice and its maintenance of British rights. "Good God! are we yet to



be told of the rights for which we went to war?" exclaimed Burke. "O, excellent rights! O, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. O, valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, one hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions [\$350,000,000] of money." Conway's proposition was carried at the beginning of March.

The opposition in Parliament now pressed measures for peace more vigorously; and on the 20th of March (1782) Lord North, who, under the inspiration of the king, had misled the nation for twelve years, retired from office, and he and his fellow-ministers were succeeded by the friends of peace. The stubborn king stormed, but was compelled to yield to the inexorable logic of events. The Parliament resolved to end the war at once, and he was obliged to give his sanction; and early in May, Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York, bearing propositions for reconciliation. Lord Shelburne, who had charge of American affairs in the new cabinet, selected Richard Oswald, a merchant, as a diplomatic agent to repair to Paris and confer with Dr. Franklin on the subject of a treaty for peace.

In the meantime the Americans did not relax their vigilance nor preparations for the continuance of the war. General Greene, as we have observed, left the High Hills of Santee, when he heard of the surrender of Cornwallis, and marched toward the seaboard. The South Carolina legislature at Jacksonborough authorized Governor Rutledge to offer pardon to all penitents, and hundreds of Tories gladly availed themselves of the privilege. General St. Clair, while on his way to reinforce Greene, had driven the British from Wilmington and left the Tories of North Carolina undefended, amazed and confounded. Wayne, as we have observed, was keeping the enemy close within his intrenchments at Savannah, and Washington, who returned to the North soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, closely imprisoned Sir Henry Clinton and his army in New York. When the commander-in-chief had completed his arrangements to leave Yorktown, he hastened to the bedside of Mr. Custis, his aid, and the only son of Mrs. Washington, who was dying of camp fever at Eltham, the seat of Colonel Bassett. He was met at the door by Dr. Craik, who informed Washington that all was over. The chief bowed his head, and with tears gave vent to his great sorrow; then turning to the weeping widow, the mother of four children, he said: "I adopt the two younger children as my own." These were Eleanor Parke and George Washington Parke Custis, the former then three years of age, and the latter six months. Washington remained a short time to console the afflicted widow, and then pressed on toward Philadelphia and the Hudson River.

Marion and his men kept watch and ward over the country between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, to prevent intercourse from the enemy at Charleston, and the latter began to feel straitened in their supplies. When General Leslie, who was in command of the British army in that city, heard of the peace proceedings in Parliament, he proposed to General Greene a cessation of hostilities, and asked the latter to allow him to purchase food for his troops. Greene was unwilling to nurture a viper in his own bosom.



ELEANOR PARKE CUSTIS.  
Aged 20 years.

GEORGE W. F. CUSTIS.  
Aged 7 years.

and refused. Leslie made several ineffectual attempts to penetrate the country by force of arms to procure supplies; and in August he sallied out in considerable force, and attempted to ascend the Combahee River, when he was confronted by General Gist, who, with about three hundred men of the Maryland line, horse and foot, had been detached to watch the movements of the British. After a severe skirmish near Combahee Ferry, the enemy were driven to their boats. They succeeded in carrying away from the neighboring islands a large amount of plunder, and returning to Charleston enriched by considerable supplies. In that skirmish the accomplished Colonel John Laurens was slain. His blood was almost the last that was spilled in the struggle for independence. It is believed that the very last

life sacrificed in the cause was that of Captain Wilmot, who was killed in a skirmish at Stono Ferry in September following.

The British had evacuated Savannah on the 11th of July, when General Wayne, in consideration of the eminent services of Colonel James Jackson, appointed the latter "to receive the keys" of that city "from a committee of British officers." So Georgia was redeemed forever from British rule, and Wayne joined his forces to those of Greene. Charleston was evacuated



BATTLE ON THE COMBAHEE

on the 14th of December following. At daylight on that morning the British left Gadsden's wharf for their ships, and at eleven o'clock an American detachment marched in and took formal possession of the city, when General Greene escorted the governor and other civil officers to the Town Hall. From windows and balconies, and even from the house-tops, the American troops were greeted with cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and cries of "Welcome! welcome! God bless you, gentlemen." Before sunset the British fleet of transports, about three hundred sail, had crossed the bar and disappeared below the eastern horizon.

Measures had meanwhile been taken by the Congress and the British government to arrange a treaty of peace. The former appointed (September, 1782) four Commissioners for the purpose, that different States of the Union might be represented. These Commissioners were John Adams of Massachusetts, John Jay of New York, Dr. Franklin of Pennsylvania, and Henry Laurens of South Carolina, who were all in Europe at that time. The British government gave Mr. Oswald full power to treat for peace with these Commissioners. He had discussed the terms with Dr. Franklin, who assured him that independence, satisfactory boundaries, and a participation in the fisheries would be indispensable requisites in a treaty. In July the

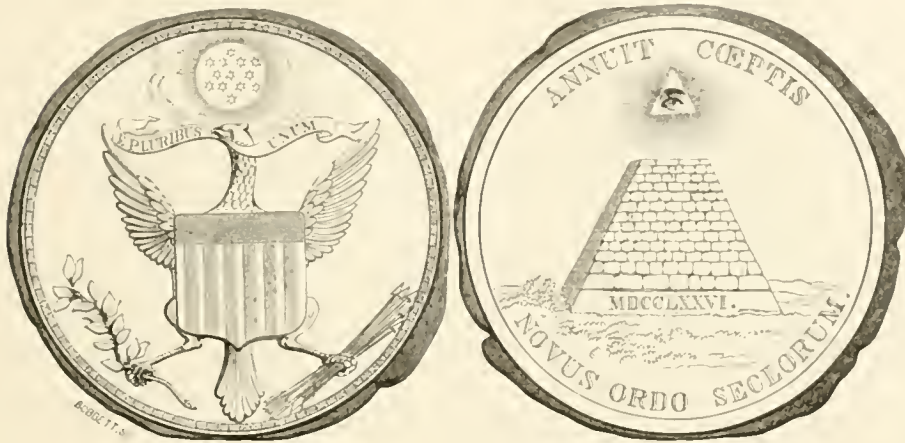
British Parliament had passed a bill to enable the king to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and all obstacles in the way of negotiation were removed. The American Commissioners first named were joined by Laurens at Paris, where the negotiations were carried on. There, on the 30th of November, a preliminary treaty of peace, on the basis of independence, was signed by the American Commissioners and Mr. Oswald without the knowledge of the French government. This was in violation of the spirit of the terms of alliance, by which it was understood (and the Commissioners had been so instructed) that no treaty should be signed by either party to the alliance without the knowledge of the other. Some of the Commissioners doubted the good faith of Vergennes, believing him to be swayed by Spanish influence; but he acted honorably throughout. Dr. Franklin, who never doubted him, removed the dissatisfaction in the mind of Vergennes, because of this affront, by a few soft words. In the meantime the States-General of Holland had acknowledged the independence of the United States by receiving John Adams as an ambassador from the Congress in April of that year; and on the 8th of October (1782) they concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with them. This was signed at the Hague by Mr. Adams and representatives of the Netherlands. It was not ratified until January, 1783.

Coincident with these preparations for a solid national existence, was the adoption of a device for a great seal—the symbol of sovereignty and authority—for the inchoate republic. A committee for the purpose was appointed on the afternoon of the 4th of July, 1776. That committee and others, from time to time, presented unsatisfactory devices. Finally, in the spring of 1782, Charles Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, gave to that body a device largely suggested to John Adams by Sir John Prestwich of England, which was made the basis of a design adopted on the 20th of June, 1782, and which is still the device of our great seal. It is composed of a spread-eagle, the emblem of strength, bearing on its breast an escutcheon with thirteen stripes alternate red and white. In his right talon he holds an olive-branch, emblem of peace, and in his left, thirteen arrows, emblems of the thirteen States, ready for war if it should be necessary. In his beak is a ribbon bearing the legend: *E Pluribus Unum*—"many in one"—many States making one nation. Over the head of the eagle is a golden light breaking through a cloud surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation on a blue field. On the reverse is an unfinished pyramid, emblematic of the unfinished republic, the building of which is still going on. In the zenith is an All-seeing Eye surrounded by light, and over the eye the word *Annuit* *Captis*—"God favors the undertaking." On the base of the pyramid, in



Roman numerals, the date 1776, and below the words: "*Novus ordo seclorum*—"a new series of ages." So the Americans showed their faith in the stability of the structure whose foundations they had laid. Only the side on which the eagle and escutcheon appear has ever been used, and that as a recumbent seal the size of the engraving here given.

With the joyful prospect of returning peace came many shadowing forebodings of evil in the near future for the poor soldiers, when the army



GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

should be disbanded and they be compelled to seek other employment for a livelihood among the desolations caused by war. Many of them were invalids; and for a long time neither officers nor private soldiers had received any pay, for the treasury was empty, and the prospect of a continuance of the poverty of the government had produced widespread discontent in the army. The officers had been promised half-pay for life; but would that promise be fulfilled? was a question that pressed upon the minds of many. Contemplating the evidently inherent weakness of the government, many were inclined to consider it a normal condition of the republican form and to sigh for a stronger one—like that of Great Britain. This feeling became so manifest in the army, that Colonel Nicola, a foreigner by birth and of weighty character, at the head of a Pennsylvania regiment, addressed a well-written letter to Washington in May, 1782, in which, professing to speak for the army, he urged the necessity of a monarchy to secure for the Americans an efficient government and the rights of the people. He proposed to Washington to accept the headship of such a gov-

ernment with the title of king, and assured him that the army would support him. Possibly a budding conspiracy to that end existed in the army, but it was crushed by the stern rebuke administered by the chief in a letter to Nicola. "If I am not deceived," Washington wrote, "in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable."

Many months later discontents in the army assumed a more dangerous form. The headquarters of the army had been, during the autumn of 1782, at Verplanck's Point, on the Hudson, when the troops numbered about ten thousand men. There they formed a promised junction with the French army on their return from Virginia. From that point the latter marched to New England ports and embarked for France, and the Americans went above the Highlands and spent the ensuing winter in huts in the vicinity of Newburgh. At the latter place Washington made his quarters in a house yet standing in the southern portion of that rural city, on the brow of a slope extending to the river.

In the latter part of the winter of 1783, the discontent in the army appeared more formidable than ever. In December (1782), the officers seeing in the continued weakness and poverty of their government no apparent security for a future adjustment of the claims of the army for back-pay or for the promised half-pay for a term of years for themselves, sent a respectful memorial to the Congress by the hands of General McDougall, the head of a committee appointed for the purpose, in which they asked (1) for present pay; (2) a settlement of arrearages of pay and security for what was due; (3) a commutation of the half-pay or an equivalent in gross; and (4) a settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations, clothing, and compensation. The Congress adopted a series of resolutions on the subject, late in January, which were not very satisfactory. Feeble in resources, they made no definite promises of present relief or future justice, and the discontents of the army were greater than before. Early in March a well-written address to the army was circulated extensively through the camps. It bore no name of author, but was calculated to stir up the spirit of revolt in the hearts of the soldiers. It advised the army to take matters into their own hands, make demonstrations of power and determination that should arouse the fears of the people and of the Congress, and so obtain justice for themselves. With this address was circulated privately a notification of a meeting of officers at a large building called The Temple, which had been erected for public meetings and a gathering-place for the Freemasons of the army.

These papers were brought to the notice of Washington on the day

when they were issued, and he determined to guide and control the movement. In general orders the next morning he referred to them; expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceedings as disorderly, and requested the general and field officers, with one officer from every company in the army, to meet at the "New Building" (The Temple) on the 15th at noon. General Gates, the senior officer, was requested to preside. On the appearance of this order, the writer of the anonymous addresses issued another.



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT NEWBURGH.

more subdued in tone, in which he tried to give the impression that Washington approved the scheme, the time of meeting being changed. There was a full attendance, and deep solemnity pervaded the assembly, when the commander-in-chief stepped upon the platform to read an address which he had prepared for the occasion. As he put on his spectacles, he remarked: "You see, gentlemen, that I have not only grown *gray*, but *blind* in your service." This simple remark, under the circumstances, had a powerful effect upon the assemblage. When he had read his address, so compact in form and construction, so clear in expression and meaning, so dignified and patriotic, so mild yet so severe, and withal so vitally important in its relations to the well-being of the unfolding republic, the men before him and the army they represented, as well as the best interests of human freedom, he immediately retired and left the officers to discuss the matter unrestrained

by his presence. Their conference was brief; their deliberations, short. They passed resolutions by unanimous vote thanking their chief for the course he had pursued; expressing their unabated attachment to his person and their country; declaring their unshaken confidence in the good faith of Congress, and their determination to bear with patience their grievances until, in due time, they should be redressed. These proceedings were signed by General Gates as president of the meeting; and three days afterward Washington, in general orders, expressed his entire satisfaction. All the papers relating to this affair were forwarded to the Congress and entered at length in their journals; and very soon that body took action that satisfied the army of the wisdom of Washington's proceedings at Newburg. The author of the anonymous addresses was Major John Armstrong, one of General Gates' aids, who afterward held civil offices of distinction in our national government. He was Secretary of War during a portion of the conflict between the United States and Great Britain in 1812-'15. In a letter to Armstrong many years after the events above related, Washington expressed his belief that the motives of the major were patriotic.

Another question now became a serious one. When the ratification of the preliminary treaty of peace was made known, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed, on the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years to a day since they began at Lexington. Then the soldiers who had enlisted "for the war" claimed the right to go home. Congress decided that the time of their enlistment would not expire until a definitive treaty of peace should be concluded. Much dissatisfaction was felt; but Washington soothed the feelings of the soldiers by allowing a very large portion of them to go home on long furloughs, during the summer of 1783. As the definitive treaty was concluded at the beginning of September, these men never returned to the army; and so was gradually and quietly disbanded a greater portion of the Continental Army in the field.

In April, 1783, a treaty was concluded between the United States and the king of Sweden; and in the same month the British government gave to David Hartley full powers to negotiate a definitive treaty with the American commissioners. It was concluded and signed at Paris on the 3d of September, 1783, by David Hartley on the part of Great Britain, and by Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay on the part of the United States. Then Franklin put on his suit of clothes which he had laid aside after receiving personal abuse before the British Privy Council, with a vow never to wear them again until America was independent and England humbled. Definitive treaties between Great Britain and France and Spain were signed on the same day; one between Great Britain and Holland was signed the



day before. That between the United States and Great Britain was unqualifiedly acknowledged by the king of Great Britain; the Mississippi River was made the western boundary, and Canada and Nova Scotia the northern and eastern boundaries of the territory of the new Republic; the navigation of the River St. Lawrence was abandoned to the English; the navigation of the Mississippi was made free to both parties; mutual rights to the Newfoundland fisheries were adjusted; no impediments were allowed in the way of the recovery of debts by *bona fide* creditors; certain measures of restitution of confiscated property to Loyalists were to be recommended by the Congress to the several States; and there was to be a general cessation of hostilities. withdrawal of troops, and a restoration of public and private property.

While waiting for the arrival of the definitive treaty, Washington made a tour, with Governor George Clinton, to the theatre of military operations in Northern New York. On his return to Newburgh, he found a letter from the President of Congress, asking his attendance upon that body, at Princeton. Leaving the army in charge of General Knox, he complied with their request, and for many weeks he was in conference with committees of that body concerning a peace establishment, etc. Meanwhile the Congress had voted to honor him with an equestrian statue to be placed at the seat of the national government; but that, like similar honors voted to others of the Continental Army, has never been executed.

In October, 1783, the Congress proclaimed the discharge of the soldiers enlisted for the war, and only a few who had been re-enlisted until a peace establishment should be arranged, now formed the remnant of the Continental Army. Soon after this proclamation, Washington put forth a farewell address to the army, which, with one sent to the governors of the several States, from Newburgh, in June, constitute admirable state papers.

The great drama of the war for independence was now drawing to its close. Sir Guy Carleton was ordered to evacuate the city of New York, the only place in our republic then occupied by British troops. He was delayed by waiting for vessels to convey refugee Loyalists to Nova Scotia, who were compelled by a law of their State to leave their country and their confiscated property. Finally, the 25th of November was the day fixed for the evacuation by Carleton. Washington repaired to West Point, where Knox had stationed the remnant of the Continental Army—the remnant of two hundred and thirty thousand regulars and fifty-six thousand militia who bore arms during the war. Of all that glorious band of patriots, not one now remains. The two latest survivors were William Hutchings of Maine and Lemuel Cook of New York, who both died in the month of May, 1866.

the former at the age of one hundred and one years and seven months, and the latter, one hundred and two years. The British had sent to subdue the American "rebels" one hundred and thirteen thousand troops for the land service, and more than twenty-two thousand seamen. Of the former, one of them (John Battin), died in the city of New York at the age of a little more than one hundred years.

Accompanied by Governor George Clinton and other civil officers, and escorted by a detachment of troops from West Point under General Knox, Washington, with his staff, appeared near the city of New York (at the site of the Cooper Institute), on the morning appointed for the evacuation—the city from which he and his troops had been compelled to fly more than seven years before. At one o'clock in the afternoon, when the British had withdrawn to the water's edge for embarkation, the Americans marched into the city, the General and Governor at their head, the civil officers and a cavalcade of citizens following, with the regular troops. In compliment to the governor and the civil authority the procession was escorted by Westchester Light Horsemen, the continental jurisdiction having ceased or was suspended. Before three o'clock General Knox had taken possession of Fort George, at the foot of Broadway, amid the acclamations of thousands of citizens and the roar of artillery; when Clinton formally re-established civil government there, and closed the important transactions of the day by a public dinner.

Before the British left Fort George, they nailed their colors to the top of the flag-staff, knocked off the cleats, and "slushed" the pole from top to bottom to prevent its being climbed. When Knox took possession of the fort, John Van Arsdale, a lively sailor boy sixteen years of age, climbed the flag-staff by nailing on the cleats, tore down the British flag, and in its place unfurled the American banner of Stars and Stripes. The British hoped to leave the harbor with their flag still floating over the spot they had occupied so long, but they did not. The last sail of the British fleet that bore away the army and the Loyalists, did not disappear beyond the Narrows, before the evening twilight.

The late Dr. Alexander Anderson, the pioneer wood-engraver in America, related to me the following amusing incident of that evacuation-day. He was then a boy between eight and nine years of age, having been born three days after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord. He was living with his parents in Murray street, near the Hudson River, then sparsely settled. Opposite his father's dwelling was a boarding-house kept by a man named Day, whose wife was a large, stout woman and zealous Whig. On the morning of evacuation-day, she ran up the American flag

upon a pole in front of her house. The British claimed possession of the city until twelve o'clock at noon, and this act was offensive to them. Early in the forenoon, when young Anderson was on his father's stoop, he saw a burly red-faced British officer, in full uniform, coming down Murray street in great haste. Mrs.

Day was sweeping in front of her door when the officer came up to her in a blustering manner, and in loud and angry tones ordered her to haul down the flag. She refused, when the officer seized the hal-yards to pull it down himself. Mrs. Day flew at him with her broomstick, and beat him so furiously over his head, that she made the powder fly from his wig. The officer stormed and swore, and tugged in vain at the hal-yards, which were entangled; and Mrs. Day applied her weapon so vigorously that he was soon compelled to retreat,



MRS. DAY AND THE PROVOST MARSHAL.

and leave the flag of the valiant woman floating triumphantly in the keen morning breeze. The British officer was the infamous provost marshal of the army, William Cunningham, who, for seven years, had cruelly treated American prisoners under his charge in New York, and terribly oppressed some of the few Whig families who remained in that city. This inglorious attempt to capture the colors of Day Castle and the result, was the last fight between the British and Americans in the Old War for Independence.

## CHAPTER XL.

CLOSING OF THE DRAMA ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC—WASHINGTON PARTS WITH HIS OFFICERS AND RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION—HIS JOURNEY FROM NEW YORK TO MOUNT VERNON—SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI—WEAKNESS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT—THE OPINIONS OF BRITISH STATESMEN—THE PUBLIC DEBT AND CREDIT—THE STATES REFUSE TO VEST SOVEREIGN POWERS IN THE CONGRESS—LORD SHEFFIELD'S PAMPHLET—JOHN ADAMS AS MINISTER IN ENGLAND—INSURRECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES—DESIRE FOR A STRONGER GOVERNMENT MANIFESTED—HAMILTON'S EARLY EFFORTS TO THAT END—A NATIONAL CONVENTION—FRANKLIN'S MOTION FOR PRAYERS—FORMATION AND ADOPTION OF A NATIONAL CONSTITUTION—SIGNING IT AND ITS RATIFICATION—THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY—THE NEW GOVERNMENT PUT INTO OPERATION.

THE struggle of the English-American colonies for political independence ended in victory for the patriots. That independence was finally assured when, on the 5th of December, 1783, the king of England said in a speech from the throne: "I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries; to this end neither attention or disposition shall be wanting on my part."

With that speech the king closed, in Great Britain, the impressive drama which opened at Lexington in 1775, and exhibited its most glorious act in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. With another act, dissimilar but quite as interesting, it had closed in America the day before. The Continental Army had been disbanded and every hostile British soldier had left our shores, when Washington, on the 4th of December (1783), called around him his officers who were near and bade them farewell. That event occurred in the great public-room of the tavern of Samuel Fraunce, at the corner of Broadway and Pearl streets, in the city of New York. The scene is described as one of great tenderness. The officers were assembled in the



room, when Washington entered and taking a glass of wine in his hand said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having tasted the wine, he continued: "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand." General



WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF HIS OFFICERS.

Knox, who stood nearest to the commander-in-chief, turned and grasped his hand, and, while the tears flowed down the cheeks of each, Washington kissed his beloved companion in arms on the forehead. This he did to each of his officers. With these parting tokens of affection Washington left the room, and passing through a corps of light infantry, he walked to White Hall (now the Staten Island Ferry) followed by a vast procession, and at two

o'clock in the afternoon entered a barge to be conveyed to Paulus's Hook, now Jersey City, on his departure for Annapolis, where the Continental Congress was then in session. The last survivor of the participants in that parting scene was Major Robert Burnet of Orange County, New York, who lived until 1854. From his lips I received the account. It was an old story related long before by the historian, but it seemed fresh as it came from the lips of an eye-witness.

Washington proceeded to Philadelphia, where he delivered his public accounts into the hands of the proper officer, and with his wife rode to Annapolis, the capital of Maryland. The Continental Congress was then in session in the State-House there. At noon on the 23d of December, the patriot entered the Senate Chamber (the hall in which the Congress sat) according to previous arrangement, and was led to a chair by Charles Thompson, the Secretary. The President of Congress, General Mifflin, then rose and informed the General that "The United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications." Washington arose, and, with great dignity and much feeling, delivered a brief speech, and then handed to Mifflin the commission which he had received from that body in June, 1775. Mifflin received it, and made an eloquent reply. He closed by saying: "We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

Washington and his wife set out from Annapolis for Mount Vernon, on the day before Christmas, and arrived home that evening, where they were greeted with great joy by the family and flocks of colored servants. They were accompanied a short distance by the governor of Maryland and his suite, on horseback. All the way from New York to Annapolis and thence to Mount Vernon, Washington's journey was a triumphal march. He was escorted from place to place by cavalcades of citizens and volunteer military corps, and was everywhere greeted with the most emphatic demonstrations of love and respect. For more than eight years he had served his country faithfully and efficiently. Now that its independence was secured, he crowned the glory of his patriotic devotion by resigning into the hands of his country's representatives the instrument of his power; and as a plain, untitled citizen, he sat down in peace in the midst of his family, on the banks of the Potomac.

A few months before the disbanding of the army a tie of friendship had been formed among the officers, at the suggestion of General Knox, by the organization at the cantonment of the troops, near Newburgh, New York, of an association known as *The Society of the Cincinnati*. Its chief objects were to promote a cordial friendship and indissoluble union among themselves, and to extend benevolent aid to such of its members as might need assistance. Washington was made its President-General, and remained so until his death. General Knox was its Secretary-General. To perpetuate the association, it was provided in the constitution of the society, that the eldest masculine descendant of an original member should be entitled to wear the Order and enjoy the privileges of the society. That society is yet in existence. The *Order* or badge consists of a gold eagle, suspended upon a ribbon, on the breast of which is a medallion with a device, representing Cincinnatus receiving the Roman Senator.

The Americans were now *free* but not *independent*. Why not? Because they had not established a nation endowed with the functions of absolute sovereignty. The British statesmen were wise enough to see this, and sagacious enough to take advantage of the situation. They saw that the Americans were without a government sufficiently powerful to command the fulfillment of treaty stipulations, or an untrammelled commerce sufficiently important to attract the cupidity or interested sympathies of other nations. John Adams was received with courtesy as the ambassador of an independent nation at the court of St. James, and King George had said to him: "I was the last man in the kingdom, Sir, to consent to the independence of America; but now it is granted, I will be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

These courtesies and fair words were only the velvet that covered the mailed hand of power. The British ministry, misled by the Loyalists that



ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI.

swarmed in the metropolis, believed that the weak confederacy would soon crumble, and that each part would be suing for restoration to the privileges of subjects to the crown. It was prepared to seize with merciless grasp the inchoate nation and destroy its sovereignty. The trade, commerce, manufactures, arts, literature, science, religion and laws were yet largely subservient to the parent country, without a well-grounded hope for speedy deliverance from the thrall. These facts gave Dr. Franklin good reason for saying to a compatriot who remarked that the war for independence was successfully closed: "Say, rather, the war of the *Revolution*. The war for *Independence* is yet to be fought." That struggle occurred, and that independence was won by the Americans in the war of 1812.

We have already observed that wise men deplored the weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation ratified in 1781. The powers of that government were soon tested by its efforts to employ the functions of sovereignty. A debt of \$70,000,000 lay upon the shoulders of a wasted people, besides the promises of the dead "Continental money" to pay more than \$200,000,000 more. About \$44,000,000 of this live debt was owing by the general government, \$10,000,000 in Europe, and the remainder by the individual States. The debt had been contracted in carrying on the war, which, for a long time, was sustained only by money borrowed for the purpose. By this means the public credit had sunk very low. The restoration of that credit or the downfall of the infant republic was the alternative presented to the Americans at the close of the war.

With a determination to restore the public credit, the General Congress put forth all their strength, which was only absolute weakness. They asked the several States to vest that body with power to levy, for the term of twenty-five years, duties on certain imported articles, the revenue therefrom to be appropriated to the sole purpose of paying the interest and principal of the public debt. It was also proposed that the States should establish, for the same time and for the same object, substantial revenues for supplying each its proportion of \$1,500,000 annually, exclusive of duties on imports. This financial system, which was approved by the leading men of the country, was not to go into effect without the consent of *every* State in the league. For three years the proposition was before the people. All the States but two were willing to raise the required amount; but they would not consent to vest the Congress with the asked-for power. "It is *money*, not *power*," they said, "that ought to be the object. The former will pay our *debts*, the latter may destroy our *liberties*." So ended in failure the first important effort of the general government to assume the functions of sovereignty. It was the beginning of a series of failures, and was mis-



chievous because it excited the jealousy of the respective States. It also exposed the impotency of a so-called national government, whose very vitality, as well as the right to exercise governing functions, depended upon the will of thirteen distinct legislative bodies, each tenacious of its own peculiar rights and interests, and miserly in its delegation of power. It was perceived that the public credit must inevitably be destroyed by a repudiation of the public debt.

The League were equally unfortunate in their attempts to establish commercial relations with other governments, especially with Great Britain. The British ministry in power when the treaty of peace was ratified were disposed to make liberal commercial arrangements with the Americans, and our commerce began to revive. William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, and then, at the age of twenty-four years, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed a plan by which the British West India Islands and other possessions of the crown, should be thrown open to American commerce. Such a measure would have secured a lasting peace between the two countries. But the unwisdom of British statesmen could not discern it. The shipping interest, then potential in Parliament, opposed it, and the wiser ministry did not survive the proposition a month. The new ministry, listening to the suggestions of bitter American Loyalists in England, assumed a haughty tone toward the Americans, treating them as vassals, and inaugurating a restrictive commercial policy which indicated that they regarded the States of the League as only alienated members of the British realm. Lord Sheffield, in a pamphlet that was widely circulated, declared his belief that utter ruin must soon overtake the League because of the anarchy into which their independence had thrown them. He saw the utter weakness of their form of government, and advised his countrymen to consider them of little account as a *nation*. "If the American States choose to send consuls," he said, "receive them and send a consul to each State. Each State will soon enter into all necessary regulations with the consul, and this is the whole that is necessary." In other words, the United States have no dignity above that of a fifth-rate power; and the States are still, in fact, only dismembered fragments of the British empire.

Impelled by this unfriendly conduct of Great Britain, the Congress, in the spring of 1784, asked the several States to delegate powers to them for fifteen years, by which they might, by countervailing measures, compel the British to be more liberal. The appeal was in vain. The States growing more and more jealous of their own dignity, refused to vest any such powers in the Congress; nor would they make any permanent or uniform arrangement among themselves. Without public credit; their commerce at the

mercy of every adventurer; without respect at home or abroad, the League exhibited the sad spectacle of the elements of a great nation paralyzed in the formative process. Then came a threatened open rupture with Great Britain on account of the inexecution of the Treaty of Peace, when John Adams was sent to England early in 1785, clothed with the full powers of plenipotentiary, to arrange all matters in dispute. But he could accomplish little. He was courteously received, as we have observed, but was coldly treated afterward. The representative of a weak government, he was compelled to bite his lip in silence; and he asked and obtained leave to return home.

Meanwhile matters were becoming infinitely worse in the United States. The League appeared to be on the verge of dissolution. The idea of forming two or three distinct confederacies took possession of the public mind. The people of Western North Carolina revolted and a new State called Frankland, formed by the insurgents, lasted several months. A portion of Southwestern Virginia sympathized in the movement. Insurrections against the authorities of Pennsylvania appeared in the Wyoming Valley. A convention at Portland discussed the propriety of making the Territory of Maine an independent State. An armed mob surrounded the New Hampshire Legislature and demanded a remission of taxes. In Massachusetts, Captain Daniel Shays led a formidable insurrection, which caused the calling out of several thousand militia under General Lincoln to suppress it. There was resistance to taxation everywhere. It was caused by the hard necessities of the people. Debt weighed down all classes; and the burden of the tax-gatherer was often the "feather that would break the camel's back."

Wise and patriotic men now saw clearly that the chief cause of all the trouble was the inherent weakness of the general government. Sagacious men like young Hamilton had perceived it long before. So early as 1780, when he was only twenty-three years of age, Hamilton seems to have formed well-defined, profound and comprehensive opinions on the situation and wants of the States. In a long letter to James Duane, in Congress, dated "At the Liberty-Pole," September 3d, he gave an outline sketch of a national constitution, and suggested the calling of a convention to frame such a system of government. During the following year he published in the *New York Packet*, then printed at Fishkill, in Dutchess County, New York, a series of papers under the title of *The Constitutionalist*, which were devoted chiefly to the discussion of the defects in the *Articles of Confederation*. They excited much local attention. In the summer of 1782, as we have observed, he succeeded in having the subject brought before the Legislature of New York, then in session at Poughkeepsie. It was favorably

received; and on Sunday, the 21st of July, that body, by resolution, drawn by Hamilton and presented by General Schuyler, his father-in-law, recommended the "assembling of a convention of the United States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving the right to the respective legislatures to ratify their determination." In the spring of 1783, Hamilton, in Congress, expressed an earnest desire for a convention



GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

charged with that high duty. In the same year, Thomas Paine and Pelatiah Webster wrote on the subject; and in the spring of 1784, Noah Webster, the author of the Dictionary, published a pamphlet on the great topic, which he took pains to carry in person to General Washington. In that pamphlet he suggested a "new system of government which should act, *not on the States but directly on individuals*, and vest in Congress full power to carry its laws into effect." In the autumn of 1785, Washington, in a letter to James Warren, deplored the weakness of the government and the "illiberality jealousy, and local policy of the States" that was likely to sink the new nation, "in the eyes of Europe, into contempt."

Grave discussions on the subject were held in the Library at Mount Vernon, where Washington, acting upon the suggestion of Hamilton five years before, proposed a convention of the several States to agree upon a plan for unity in a commercial arrangement over which, by the constitution, the Congress had no control. That suggestion beamed out upon the surrounding darkness like a ray of morning light, and was the herald and harbinger of future important action. Coming from such an exalted source, the suggestion was heeded. A convention of the States was called at Annapolis, in Maryland. Only five States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia) sent deputies. These met on the 11th of September, 1786. There being only a minority of the States represented, action was postponed, and they adjourned after adopting the form of a recommendation for the several States to send deputies to a convention to meet in Philadelphia in May following. A report of their proceedings was sent to the Congress, and that body, in February, 1787, passed a resolution strongly urging the legislatures of the several States to send deputies to meet in the proposed convention for "the sole and express purpose of revising the *Articles of Confederation*, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as should, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union." Delegates were appointed by all the States excepting Rhode Island. While there was a general feeling that *something* must be done for the preservation of the Union, great caution was manifested in the delegation of powers to those who were to represent the States in the proposed convention.

In May, 1787, delegates from several States assembled in convention in Independence Hall in the State-House at Philadelphia. George Washington, a delegate from Virginia, was chosen to preside over their deliberations, and William Jackson, one of Washington's most intimate personal friends, was appointed secretary. It was the 25th of May before there were delegates enough from the requisite number of States to form a quorum. The business of the convention was opened by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who, at the request of his colleagues, made a carefully prepared speech, in which he pointed out the serious defects in the *Articles of Confederation*, illustrated their utter inadequacy to secure the dignity, peace, and safety of the republic, and asserted the absolute necessity of a more energetic government. At the close of his speech he offered to the convention fifteen resolutions, in which were embodied the leading principles whereon to construct a new form of government. The chief business of the convention was



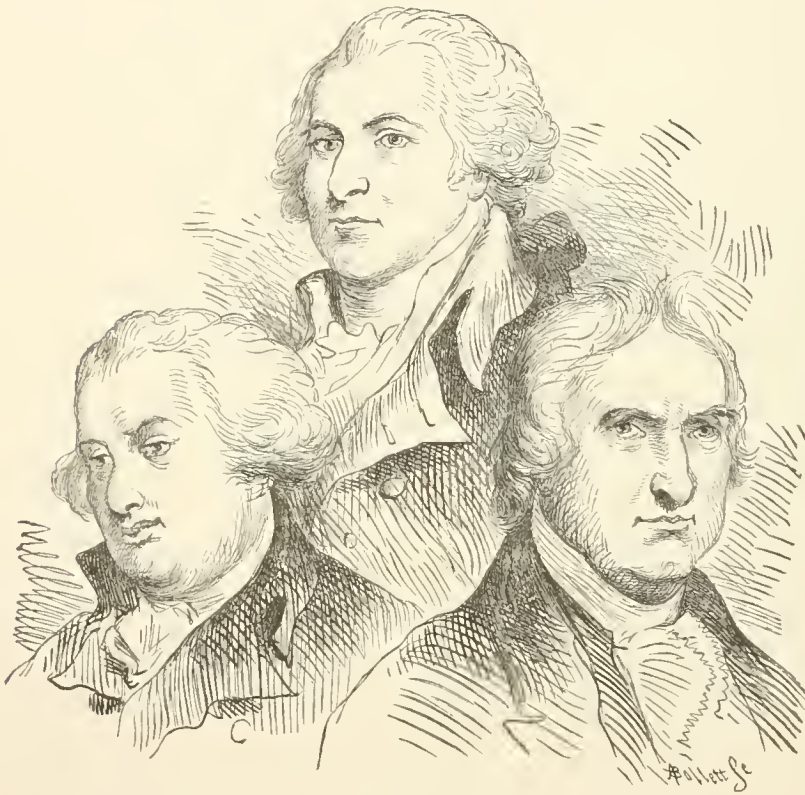
suggested by his proposition, "that a *national* government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

Upon this broad foundation all future action of the convention was based. The members had scarcely a precedent in history for their guide. The great political maxim established by the Revolution was, *the original residence of all human sovereignty is in the people*. It was left for the founders of the republic to parcel out from the several Commonwealths of which the new nation was composed, so much of their restricted power as the people of the several States should be willing to dismiss from their local political institutions, in making a strong and harmonious government that should be, at the same time, harmless toward reserved State rights. This was the difficult problem to be solved. "At that time," says Mr. Curtis in his History of the Constitution, "the world had witnessed no such spectacle as that of the deputies of a nation, chosen by the free action of great communities, and assembled for the purpose of thoroughly reforming its Constitution, by the exercise and with the authority of the national will. All that had been done, both in ancient and modern times, in forming, moulding or modifying constitutions of government, bore little resemblance to the present undertaking of the States of America. Neither among the Greeks nor the Romans was there a precedent, and scarce an analogy."

The Convention had not proceeded far when it was discovered that the *Articles of Confederation* were too radically defective to afford a basis for a stable government, and therefore, instead of trying to amend them, they went diligently at work to form a new constitution. Slow progress was made, for opinions were very conflicting. At length, when it appeared probable that the result would be a failure to agree upon anything, the venerable Dr. Franklin, then eighty-two years of age, arose in his place and said: "How has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard; and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten this powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need His assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time; and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that *God governs in the affairs of men*." At the conclusion of his remarks Franklin moved: "That henceforth prayers, imploring the

assistance of Heaven and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in this service." Upon a memorandum of this motion, Franklin wrote: "The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!"

For many weeks the debates went on, sometimes with courtesy and at others with great acrimony, until the 10th of September (1787), when all



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

GENERAL MIFFLIN.

GEORGE CLINTON.

plans and amendments adopted by the Convention were placed in the hands of a committee for revision and arrangement. That committee, composed of Messrs. Madison, Hamilton, King, Johnson, and Gouverneur Morris, chose the latter to put the document into proper literary form. On the 17th, after the plan reported by the committee had been discussed clause by clause, slightly amended and adopted, and it had been neatly engrossed on

parchment, it was spread before the members for their signatures. In the performance of that act there was some hesitation. A large majority of the delegates wished it to go forth to the people, not only as the act of the Convention, but of the individual members. Some who could not agree to it in all its parts, objected to giving their sanction to the whole, by appending their signatures; but the patriotic action of Hamilton, caused several who held back, to sign the instrument. He desired a much stronger national government than the Constitution would establish, but said: "No man's ideas are more remote from the plan than my own; but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and confusion on one side, and the chance of good on the other?" His appeals, and those of Franklin, caused every member present to sign, excepting Mason and Randolph of Virginia and Gerry of Massachusetts. Then Franklin, pointing to the chair occupied by Washington, the President of the Convention, at the back of which a Sun was painted, said: "I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that Sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising sun."

The Convention ordered their proceedings to be laid before the Congress, and by a carefully-worded resolution recommended that body to submit the new Constitution to the people (not the States), and ask them, the *source of all sovereignty*, to ratify or reject it. The Congress did so. Conventions of the people were accordingly held in the several States, to consider the instrument. It was violently assailed in these conventions and through the medium of the press, by those who regarded allegiance to a State as paramount to that to the national government; while powerful essays in its favor were written by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, under the title of *The Federalist*. These had a most salutary effect upon the public mind, and were very influential in producing the happy result obtained. Long and able debates upon the subject were had in the conventions; and at public gatherings and at every fireside it was a topic for discussion and earnest conversation. Slowly the people deliberated; and it was nine months after the Constitution was adopted by the Convention before it was ratified by nine States, that number being necessary to make it the organic law of the land. The following are the names of the delegates who signed the Constitution, and the order of their signatures: George Washington, of *Virginia*, President; John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman, of *New Hampshire*; Nathaniel Gorham and Rufus King, of *Massachusetts*; Wm. Samuel Johnson and Roger Sherman, of *Connecticut*; Alexander Hamilton, of *New York*; William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson and Jona-



than Dayton, of *New Jersey*; Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, of *Pennsylvania*; George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett and Jacob Brown, of *Delaware*; James McHenry, Daniel-of-St.-Thomas Jenifer and Daniel Carroll, of *Maryland*; John Blair and James Madison, of *Virginia*; William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson, of *North Carolina*; John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney and Pierce Butler, of *South Carolina*; and William Few and Abraham Baldwin, of *Georgia*.



EMIGRANTS ON THE OHIO RIVER.

While the national Convention was in session at Philadelphia, the Continental Congress, feeble and dying, were sitting at New York, with only eight States represented; but they performed a very important work at midsummer. By treaties with the principal Indian tribes between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, the aboriginal titles to seventeen million acres of land in that region had been extinguished. This act, with that of the cession of Virginia to the United States of all its claims to lands in that region, put the general government in actual possession of a vast country out of which several flourishing States have been formed. The Congress,



by unanimous vote on the 13th of July, 1787, adopted an "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio." It provided, among other things, that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." The existence of these conditions in the "Northwestern Territory," as the country was now called, created a mighty stream of emigration to flow down the western slopes of the Alleghany Mountains into the Ohio Valley. The first settlement founded there by Europeans (excepting by Moravian missionaries) was seated by General Rufus Putnam and others, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, which he named Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, then queen of Louis the Sixteenth of France. Other immigrants followed; and it has been estimated that during the years 1788 and 1789, full twenty thousand men, women, and children went down the Ohio in boats to settle near its banks. Since then, how wonderful has been the growth of the empire beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

On the 21st of June, 1788, the New Hampshire convention ratified the new Constitution. This completed the sanction of the number of States necessary to make it the organic law of the country. Delaware ratified it on the 7th of December, 1787; Pennsylvania on the 12th, and New Jersey on the 18th of the same month; Georgia on the 2d, and Connecticut on the 9th of January, 1788; Massachusetts on the 6th of February; Maryland on the 28th of April; South Carolina on the 23d of May, and New Hampshire, as we have observed, on the 21st of June, 1788. On the 26th of the same month, Virginia ratified it; New York on the 26th of July, and North Carolina on the 21st of November. Rhode Island held back until the 29th of May, 1789, after the new government had gone into operation. By these acts of ratification, the inhabitants of our country emphatically declared, in the language of the Preamble to the National Constitution: "*We, the People of the United States*, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." In accordance with the provisions of that Constitution, the people of the States wherein it had been ratified chose Presidential electors. These formed the first Electoral College, and on the first Wednesday in February, 1789, they chose George Washington, President, and John Adams, Vice-President of the United States. On the 4th of March following, the first Congress under the new order of things began their first session, when the Continental Congress—the representative of the League—officially expired.

The history of the old Continental Congress is a remarkable one. At first it was a spontaneous gathering of patriotic representatives of thirteen colonies that stretched a thousand miles along the western shores of the Atlantic, who met to act for the common good. With unexampled boldness and faith, they snatched the sceptre of rule from their oppressing sovereign, and assuming imperial functions, created armies, issued bills of credit, declared the provinces to be independent States, made treaties with foreign nations, founded an empire, and compelled their king to acknowledge the States which they represented, to be independent of the British crown. The career of that Congress astonished the world with the brilliancy of the events achieved. A mightier and more stable power took the place of this conqueror, and immediately arrested the profound attention of the civilized nations. It was seen that its commerce, diplomacy, and dignity were no longer exposed to neglect by thirteen clashing legislative bodies, but were guarded and controlled by a central power of wonderful energy. Great Britain no longer thought of sending hither consuls, alone, to represent her, but placed a minister plenipotentiary near the republican court. Other European governments sent hither dignified diplomatic agents. We no longer exhibited the weakness of a *League of States*, but the power of a *Nation*. The prophecy of Bishop Berkeley was on the eve of fulfillment:

“Westward the course of Empire takes its way.”



BOOK V.

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THE NATION.

FROM 1789 TO 1856.





## CHAPTER I.

THE PEOPLE AND THE CONSTITUTION—WASHINGTON INFORMED OF HIS ELECTION—VISITS HIS MOTHER—HIS JOURNEY TO NEW YORK—RECEPTION AT PHILADELPHIA, TRENTON, AND NEW YORK—INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON—OFFICIAL ETIQUETTE—THE POLICY OF TITLES DISCUSSED—MRS. WASHINGTON—THE FIRST WORK OF CONGRESS—A TEMPORARY REVENUE SYSTEM AND ITS EFFECTS—EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS ESTABLISHED—A NATIONAL JUDICIARY—AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION—SEAT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED—CABINET OFFICERS CHOSEN.



WHEN the national government of the United States was established under the new Constitution, the total population of the republic, exclusive of the Indians, was 3,929,827. Of this number, 757,365 persons were of African descent, 697,879 being born slaves. The number of Indians then on our domain, is unknown.

The dominant Caucasian race in our land, about three millions and a quarter in number, had, through long years of political discussion and actual war, been trained to the endurance of personal hardships, the assertion of individual rights, and the maintenance of the political and social franchises incident to the exercise of local self-gov-

ernment. They had been educated for free citizenship in a school of independent thinkers, and by constant attrition had formed habits of self-reliance, mental and physical. The judgment of this people was brought to bear upon the new Constitution before and after its ratification; and when a majority had declared it to be the supreme law of the land, the minority patriotically acquiesced in the momentous decision, not however without most decided manifestations of disapproval at first, especially by the more excitable part of the population.

When, early in the summer of 1788, the ratification of the Constitution was assured, its friends, in some places, prepared to mingle demonstrations of joy on that account with the usual methods of celebrating the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. This was attempted, on the 4th of July, in Providence, R. I., when a thousand men, led by a judge of the supreme court, came in from the country and compelled the citizens to strike from their programme all allusion to the Constitution. In Albany both parties celebrated "Independence day" together, but after dinner the friends of the Constitution formed a procession that was escorted by several military companies. The opposite party interfered with them, and a sharp fight ensued, in which stones and clubs, swords and bayonets, were used, and a few persons were seriously wounded. There were also some riotous demonstrations in New York, after the great "Federal procession," in which, as in Philadelphia, many industries were practically exhibited as the line moved through the streets—mechanics of all kinds with tools at work and banners flying—followed by a great banquet and illuminations. But there were temporary ebullitions of feeling that suddenly assumed the features of a mob spirit.

When, in the spring of 1789, the new government went into operation in the City of New York, after the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the republic, there was a general readiness manifested by thinking men of all creeds in politics and religion to try the "experiment," as the new order of things was deemed to be, fairly and fully. They saw clearly that it was a momentous experiment to attempt, without a precedent, to adjust the machinery of a government, political and social, that was the embodiment of the ideas of local self-rule and of national union, so as to secure perfect harmony, and to avoid all friction. They saw that it required the highest type of statesmanship to accomplish that delicate and difficult task; therefore, in the elections of their executive and legislative representatives, the people put forth their honest efforts to secure the best men for the respective offices. So judicious was their choice, that when Washington stood before their representatives face to face, in the old Federal Hall in

New York, to deliver his inaugural address, he was constrained to say that in them he saw the surest pledges that the foundations of "the national policy would be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world." He continued: "I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love of my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public propriety and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

Washington was making the usual tour of his fields on the 14th of March, 1789, when Charles Thomson, the Secretary of the Continental Congress, arrived at Mount Vernon with a letter from John Langdon, the *pro-tempore* president of the United States Senate, announcing the election of the illustrious farmer to the Presidency of the republic. Washington accepted the office, and made immediate preparations for the journey to the seat of government. Toward evening, accompanied by his favorite body-servant, Billy, he left Mount Vernon and rode rapidly toward Fredericksburg, to visit his mother, then past eighty years of age and suffering from an incurable disease. The interview was a touching one. When he was about to leave, the son promised the mother, that so soon as public business would allow, he would hasten to Virginia to see her. "You will see me no more," said the aged matron; "my great age and the disease which is rapidly approaching my vitals, warn me that I shall not be long in this world." The dutiful son stooped and kissed her, as she sat in her arm-chair, when she took his brawny hands in her attenuated ones and said: "Go, George; fulfill the high destinies which Heaven appears to assign to you; go, my son, and may that Heaven's and your mother's blessing be with you always." They never met again on the earth. When Washington returned to Virginia, his mother's body was in the grave. She died in August, 1789, at the age of eighty-two years.

On the morning of the 6th of April, Washington left Mount Vernon for New York, accompanied by Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys. He

was met at his porter's lodge by a cavalcade of his neighbors and friends, who escorted him to Alexandria, where he partook of a public dinner. Everywhere on his journey he was greeted by demonstrations of the most profound respect and reverence. At Georgetown he was received with honors, and at Baltimore he was feasted. At Gray's Ferry on the Schuyl-



WASHINGTON PARTING WITH HIS MOTHER.

kill, near Philadelphia, a triumphal arch had been erected and covered with laurel branches. As Washington passed through it, Angelica Peale, a daughter of the artist, Charles Wilson Peale—a child of rare beauty, concealed among the foliage—let down an ornamented civic crown of laurel which rested on the head of the Patriot. This incident drew from the multitude loud huzzas, and shouts of "Long live George Washington! long live the Father of his Country!" filled the air. When he crossed the Dela-



ware at Trenton, the scene of one of his earliest victories in the war for independence, he was led through a triumphal arch erected upon a bridge that spanned a small stream over which he had retreated before Cornwallis more than twenty years before. The arch was supported by thirteen pillars trimmed with evergreens and flowers. It had been erected and adorned by the women of New Jersey, and bore the words: "*The Defender of the Mothers, will be the Protector of the Daughters.*" Many mothers, with their daughters, appeared on each side of the structure, all dressed in white. As the President-elect passed through, thirteen young girls in white dresses, their heads adorned with flowers, and holding baskets of flowers in their hands, scattered some of them in his way, while they sang an ode of welcome.

At Elizabethtown Point, Washington was met by a committee from each house of Congress, and civil and military officers. They had prepared a magnificent barge for his reception, manned by thirteen pilots in white uniforms. In this the President-elect was conveyed to New York. The shipping in New York harbor was decorated with flags, and the waters swarmed with gaily-dressed small boats filled with ladies and gentlemen. There was an exception to the general display of honors. The Spanish ship-of-war *Galveston*, lying not far from the present Castle Garden, was not decorated, and was silent. This neglect—this seeming churlishness—was so marked, that it called forth severe comments, when suddenly, as the barge came abreast of her, she displayed, as if by magic, the flags of all nations, and fired a salute of thirteen guns. These were answered by guns from the battery on the shore; and in the midst of the roar of artillery and the shouts of a vast multitude of citizens, the Beloved Patriot landed at Whitehall and was conducted to a house prepared for his residence on Franklin Square. Such was the reception of the first President-elect, at the seat of the new national government. There was general joy and good feeling, but satire and caricature appeared like ravens among beves of white doves. Political parties were already beginning to take distinct shape. The friends of the Constitution, represented by Washington, were called *Federalists*, and those opposed to it were called *Anti-Federalists*. On the day after Washington's arrival a caricature appeared—silly enough, but charged with bitter feeling—in which the President was seen mounted on an ass, in the arms of Billy, Colonel David Humphreys leading the Jack and chanting hosannahs and birthday odes. The picture was full of disloyal and profane allusions. The Devil appeared prominent, and from his mouth issued the words:

"The glorious time has come to pass,  
When David shall conduct an ass."

On the 30th of April Washington was inaugurated President of the republic. The ceremony took place in the open gallery of the old City Hall (afterward called Federal Hall), on the site of the present Custom-House, in the presence of a vast multitude. Washington was dressed in a suit of dark brown cloth and white silk stockings, all of American manufacture. His hair was powdered and dressed in the fashion of the day, clubbed and ribboned. The oath of office was administered by Robert R. Livingston, then chancellor of the State of New York. The open Bible (then and now the property of St. John's Lodge of Freemasons of the City of New York), on which the President laid his hand, was held on a rich crimson velvet cushion by Mr. Otis, Secretary of the Senate. Near them were John Adams, who had been chosen Vice-President; George Clinton, Governor of New York; Philip Schuyler, John Jay, General Knox, Ebenezer Hazard, Samuel Osgood and other distinguished men. After taking the oath and kissing the sacred book reverently, Washington closed his eyes and in an attitude of devotion said: "So help me God!" The Chancellor exclaimed, "It is done!" and then turning to the people he shouted, "Long live George Washington, the first President of the United States." That shout was echoed and re-echoed by the multitude, when the President and the members of Congress retired to the Senate Chamber, where Washington pronounced a most impressive inaugural address. At the conclusion, he and the members went in procession to St. Paul's Church (which, with the other churches, had been opened for prayers at nine o'clock that morning), and there they invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the new government. The first person who grasped Washington's hand in congratulation, after the ceremony, was Richard Henry Lee, his friend from childhood, to whom he had written when they were boys nine years of age—"I am going to get a whip-top soon, and you may see it and whip it." How many human whip-tops had these staunch patriots managed since they wrote their childish epistles!

The new government entered upon its duties under the keen scrutiny of a jealous opposition, and an ever-watchful democracy which regarded with alarm every aspect of aristocracy to be found in the new order of things. Even the saluting of Mrs. Washington with cannon-peals on her arrival in New York a month after her husband's inauguration, and the escorting her to the President's house by military, was commented upon as "opening monarchical ceremonies." These suspicions were manifested, in a large degree, in the Congress, where the propriety of bestowing dignified titles upon the President and Vice-President was discussed. Warm debates were had. "Will not the people say," exclaimed a member from South Carolina, "that they have been deceived by the Convention that framed the Constitution,

and that it has been continued with a view to lead them on by degrees to that kind of government which they have thrown off with abhorrence? Does the dignity of a nation consist in the distance between the first magistrate and the citizens! in the exaltation of one man and the humiliation of the rest?" No positive conclusion was arrived at. The House of Representatives had already addressed Washington simply as "President of the United States;" but before long it became common to prefix the words "His Excellency," which has been done ever since. It was known that Washington had no special desire for a title; but the Vice-President was decidedly in favor of marks of distinction, and had adopted in his equipage and manner a style that offended many of the members of Congress.

Washington was anxious to so regulate his intercourse with the public at large, that he might secure dignity for the office and order for his own comfort and the public good. Wishing to give his time to public affairs, he resolved at the outset not to return any visits. To prevent being over-run with mere callers, he appointed the hour between three and four o'clock each Tuesday for the reception of gentlemen. He met ladies at the receptions given by Mrs. Washington, who also had stated times for the ceremony. At receptions by the latter, in which the company consisted only of persons connected with the government and their families, foreign ministers and their families, and persons moving in the best circles of refined society, all were expected to appear in full dress. On these occasions Washington generally stood by the side of his wife, dressed in a plain suit of brown cloth with bright buttons, without hat or dress-sword. At his own *levees* he wore a suit of black velvet, black silk stockings, silver knee and shoe buckles, and yellow gloves. He held in his hand a cocked-hat with a black cockade. His hat was trimmed with a feather around the edge about one inch deep. He also wore an elegant dress-sword upon his hip in such a manner that only the point of the scabbard might be seen below the skirt of his coat. As visitors came in, they were introduced to him by Colonel Humphreys, who was master of ceremonies, when they were arranged in a circle around the room. At a quarter-past three o'clock the door was closed, when the company for the day was completed. The President then began on the right, and spoke to each visitor, calling him by name, and addressing a few words to him. When he had completed the circuit, he resumed his first position, when the visitors approached him, bowed and retired. By four o'clock this ceremony was over.

This "court-life" was very distasteful to Mrs. Washington. She wrote to a friend: "I live a very dull life here, and know nothing that passes in the town. I never go to any public place—indeed I think I am more like a

state-prisoner than anything else. There are certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from ; and as I cannot do as I like, I am obstinate and stay at home a great deal." She was a careful, bustling, industrious little housewife, more fond of her home than promiscuous society, and a noble exemplar for American women. "Let us repair to the old lady's



DOMESTIC LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON.

room," wrote the wife of a revolutionary officer from Mount Vernon, just after Washington retired from the Presidency. "It is nicely fixed for all sorts of work. On one side sits the chambermaid, with her knitting ; on the other, a little colored pet learning to sew. An old, decent woman is there, with her table and shears, cutting out the negroes' winter-clothing, while the good old lady directs them all, incessantly knitting herself. She points out to me several pair of nice colored stockings and gloves she had just



finished, and presents me with a pair, half done, which she begs me to finish and wear for her sake. It is wonderful, after a life spent as these good people have necessarily spent theirs, to see them in retirement assume those domestic habits that prevail in our country."

Even before the inauguration of the President, Congress began in earnest the great work of putting the machinery of the new government into harmonious and vigorous action. The first and most important duties to which they were called were the devising of a revenue system—for the public treasury was empty—and establishing a national judiciary as a co-ordinate branch of the national government. Two days after the votes of the Presidential electors were counted, Mr. Madison, to whom the leadership in the House of Representatives was conceded, brought forward a plan for a temporary system of imports, to be based upon one proposed by the Continental Congress. He was decidedly favorable to free trade; but the wants of the public treasury and the impossibility to obtain reciprocal action on the part of other governments, made him consent to and propose a tariff upon spirituous liquors, wines, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses and pepper, as subjects for special duties; also an *ad valorem* duty upon all other articles imported, and a tonnage duty upon all vessels, with a discrimination in favor of vessels owned wholly in the United States, and an additional discrimination between foreign vessels, favorable to those belonging to countries having commercial treaties with the United States. The debates that arose on these propositions took a scope so wide and general that nearly every principle of tariff regulations, which have occupied the attention of our national legislature since, was fully discussed. It was finally agreed to lay duties upon certain specified articles that were imported into the United States until the year 1796; also to impose higher duties on foreign than on American bottoms; and goods imported in vessels belonging to citizens of the United States were to pay ten per cent. less duty than the same goods brought in those owned by foreigners. These discriminating duties were intended to counteract the commercial regulations of foreign nations, and especially those of Great Britain, and encourage American shipping.

These discussions and measures startled the powerful and selfish shipping interest of Great Britain, which had persistently opposed fair commercial relations with the Americans during the existence of the old Confederation. British merchants and British statesmen now perceived that American commerce was no longer regulated by thirteen separate legislatures representing clashing interests, nor subject to the control of the king and council, but that its interests were guarded by a central power of great energy. The British government hastened to secure commercial advantages, and it be-

came a supplicant instead of a haughty master. Soon after the passage of the revenue laws, a committee of Parliament proposed to ask the United States to consent to an arrangement precisely like the one proposed by Mr. Adams in 1785, but then rejected with scorn by the British ministry. The proposition was made to our government, and was met by generous courtesy on the part of the United States; but it was not until 1816, when the second war for independence—the war of 1812-'15—had been some time closed, that reciprocity treaties fairly regulated the commerce between the two countries.

Soon after the inauguration of Washington, the House having made provisions for raising a revenue, turned their attention to a reorganization of the Executive Departments. Those of the old Congress were still in operation, and were filled by the incumbents appointed by that body. The Department of Foreign Affairs, established in 1781, was incorporated with one for Home Affairs, and was called the Department of State, having charge not only of all foreign negotiations, and all papers connected therewith, but also the custody of all papers and documents of the old Congress, and all engrossed acts and resolutions of the new government which had become laws; also the issuing of all commissions for civil officers. The Treasury Department was continued substantially on the plan established in 1781. It was the duty of its chief officer to digest and propose plans for the improvement and management of the public revenue; to superintend the collection of the same; to execute services connected with the sale of public lands; to grant warrants on the treasury for all appropriations made by law; and to report to either House of Congress as to matters referred to him or appertaining to his office. Under him were subordinate officers—a controller, an auditor, a register, and a treasurer. The chief of the Department of State was called Secretary of State, and of the Treasury Department, Secretary of the Treasury.

The Department of War was organized very much upon the plan adopted in 1781, and its head was called Secretary of War. He was also intrusted with the superintendence of naval as well as military affairs, the material of the united service then being very limited. Not a single vessel of the Continental navy remained; and the military establishment consisted of only a single regiment of foot, a battalion of artillery, and the militia which the President might call out for the defence of the frontiers. There was a wholesome dread of a standing army. The Post-office Department was continued on the plan of Dr. Franklin, the first Postmaster-General appointed by the Continental Congress. Franklin had been succeeded by his son-in-law, Richard Bache, and he, in turn, by Ebenezer Hazard, who

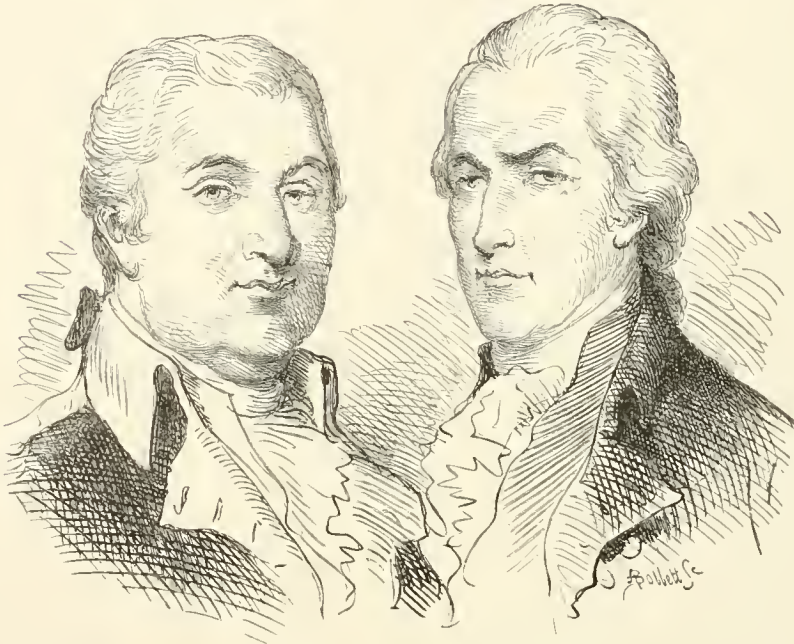
then held the office. A Secretary of the Navy was not appointed until 1798. The Postmaster-General did not become a cabinet officer until 1829, the first year of President Jackson's administration.

While the House of Representatives were engaged with the subject of revenue and the Executive Departments, the Senate was busy in perfecting a plan for a national judiciary. A bill drawn by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, was, after considerable discussion and some alteration, passed, and was concurred in by the other House. By its provisions, the judiciary was to consist of a Supreme Court having one Chief Justice and five Associate Justices, who were to hold two sessions annually at the seat of the national government. Circuit and district courts were also established which had jurisdiction over certain specified cases. Each State in the Union was made a district, as were also the Territories of Kentucky and Maine. With the exception of these two, the districts were grouped into three circuits. An appeal from these lower courts to the Supreme Court was allowed, as to points of law, in all civil cases when the matter in dispute amounted to two thousand dollars. The President was authorized to appoint a marshal for each district, having the general powers of a sheriff, who was to attend all courts and was authorized to serve all processes. Provision was also made for a district attorney in each district to act for the United States in all cases in which the national government might be interested. That organization, with slight modifications, is still in force.

The next important business that engaged the attention of Congress during its first session was the consideration of amendments to the national Constitution. The subject was brought forward by Mr. Madison, in conformity to pledges given to his State (Virginia), which was opposed to the Constitution without certain amendments. The number of amendments proposed by the minorities of the several conventions that ratified the Constitution, exceeded one hundred. These were referred to a committee which consisted of one member from each State. That committee finally reported and after long debate and various alterations, twelve articles were agreed to and submitted to the people of the several States for ratification or rejection. The first two related to the number and pay of the House of Representatives; the other ten, a member said, were "of no more value than a pinch of snuff, since they went to secure rights never in danger." Only these ten were ratified in the course of the next two years. Two other amendments were afterward made, and these were the only ones adopted until the period of the late Civil War.

The national debt was a subject that demanded the earnest attention of

Congress; but that body, having put the machinery of government in motion, deferred the consideration of its operations in detail until their next session. They contented themselves with directing the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and report a plan for the liquidation of that debt, at the next session. The subject of the public lands was also an important one, but Congress did nothing more than to recognize and confirm the ordinance of



HENRY KNOX.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

1787 for the establishment of the Northwestern Territory. They fixed the salaries of the several officers of the government at a very low rate of compensation as compared with other nations; and toward the close of the session, which ended in September, the question respecting the permanent seat of the national government was called up and produced much excitement in and out of Congress. New York and Philadelphia were the chief aspirants for the honor. Maryland and Virginia resolved to fix the site on the Potomac. After much debate and the passage back and forth of amended bills between the two Houses, the subject was postponed until the next session.



Congress adjourned for three months on the 29th of September. The President, who had been confined to his bed six weeks in the summer with a severe malady which, at one time, put his life in peril, resolved to make a journey into New England during the recess, in search of renewed strength and to become better acquainted with the country and the inhabitants. Before his departure he selected the cabinet ministers who were to be his advisers and made other appointments, all subject to the approval or disapproval of the Senate. He chose Thomas Jefferson for the important post of Secretary of State.

Washington knew his worth as a patriot and statesman. He had succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister to the French court, and was about to return home. The President had ample opportunities for knowing the transcendent abilities, practical common sense, and sterling patriotism of Alexander Hamilton, and he chose him to fill the really most important office in the cabinet at that time, that of Secretary of the Treasury. General Henry Knox was then the Secretary of War, and he was continued in the office; for his tried patriotism, steady principles and his public services, had endeared him to Washington, and secured the public confidence. Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who was a

distinguished member of the bar, and a leading spirit in the convention that framed the Constitution, was chosen to be attorney-general. Washington regarded the national judiciary as the strong right-arm of the Constitution to enable it to perform its functions with justice, and he selected John Jay of New York for the office of Chief Justice of the United States, as the most fitting man for the place to be found in the country. Consulting alike, in this nomination, the public good and the dignity of the Court, he expressed his own feelings in a letter to Mr. Jay, in this wise: "I have a full confidence that the love you bear to our country and a desire to promote the general happiness, will not suffer you to hesitate a moment to bring into



JOHN JAY.

action the talents, knowledge, and integrity which are so necessary to be exercised at the head of that department, which must be considered the keystone of our political fabric."

So it was that with great wisdom, prudence and foresight, the sagacious founders of our republic organized and set in motion the machinery of government. The tests of more than eighty years' experience have elucidated the practical philosophy evinced by these men, individually and collectively, in the performance of their delicate and very difficult task. At the very outset, the new system of government encountered enormous strains, and the tests amounted almost to positive demonstrations of the unconquerable strength of our republic which it derived from the sap of free institutions. The wisdom and sagacity of the first President were also manifested in his choice of his aids in the management of the new government. He chose men of tried patriotism, intelligence and virtue, on whom he could rely for judicious counsel and courageous action—two very important qualities at that juncture in our national life.



## CHAPTER II.

THANKSGIVING DAY APPOINTED—THE PRESIDENT'S JOURNEY INTO NEW ENGLAND—OFFICIAL ETIQUETTE—CEREMONIES AT THE OPENING OF CONGRESS—HAMILTON'S REPORT ON THE FINANCES—FINANCIAL MEASURES ADOPTED—FIRST DEBATES IN CONGRESS ON SLAVERY—SEAT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CHOSEN—PATENTS AND COPYRIGHTS—TREATY WITH SOUTHERN INDIANS—A NATIONAL CURRENCY, BANK, COINAGE AND MINT ESTABLISHED—VERMONT AND KENTUCKY ENTER THE UNION—FIRST CENSUS—WARS WITH THE INDIANS IN THE NORTHWEST, AND THEIR FINAL SUBJUGATION.

A FEW days before Congress adjourned in September, that body, by resolution, requested the President to recommend a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by the people of the whole nation, in acknowledgment of the signal favor of the Almighty in permitting them to establish in peace a free government. Washington issued a proclamation to that effect. It was the first call for a national thanksgiving since the establishment of the new government. On the same day (October 3, 1790) he wrote in his diary: "Sat for Mr. Rammage [an Irish artist] near two hours to-day, who was drawing a miniature picture of me for Mrs. Washington. Walked in the afternoon, and sat at two o'clock for Madame de Brehan [or Brienne, sister of the French minister Moustier], to complete a miniature profile of me which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original."

The President appointed Thursday, the 26th of November, as the day for the national thanksgiving, and on the 15th of October, he set out on his journey to New England. Rhode Island, not having yet adopted the new Constitution, was not in the Union, and he did not tread upon its soil, but went to Boston by way of Hartford, Springfield and Worcester, arriving there on Saturday, the 24th. There he had an official tilt with John Hancock, who was then governor of Massachusetts. Hancock had invited Washington to lodge at his house in Boston. The invitation was declined. After the arrival of the President, the governor sent him an invitation to dine with him and his family, informally, that day, at the conclusion of the public reception ceremonies. It was accepted by Washington, with a full persuasion that the governor would call upon him before the dinner hour. But

Hancock had conceived the proud notion that the governor of a State within his own domain was officially superior to the President of the United States when he came into it. He had laid his plans for asserting this superiority by having Washington visit him *first*, and to this end he had sent him the invitations to lodge and dine with him. At near the time for dinner, as Washington did not appear, Hancock evidently felt some misgivings, for he sent his secretary to the President with an excuse that he was



WASHINGTON SITTING TO MADAME BRIENNE.

too ill to call upon his Excellency in person. The latter divined the nature of the "indisposition," and dined at his own lodgings at "the widow Ingersolls," with a single guest. That evening the governor, feeling uneasy, sent his lieutenant and two of his council to express his regret that his illness had not allowed him to call upon the President. "I informed them explicitly," Washington wrote in his diary, "that I should not see the governor except at my lodgings." This took the conceit entirely out of Hancock.



who was well enough the next day (Sunday) to call upon Washington and repeat, in person, the insufficient excuse for his own folly.

The President extended his visit eastward as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he sat to a persistent portrait painter named Gulligher, who had followed him from Boston. From that point he took a more northerly route back to Hartford, and arrived at New York on the 13th of November.

There, on the 8th of January, 1790, the second session of the first Congress was begun in the old Federal Hall. The proceedings were opened by a message or speech from Washington, which he delivered in person. At eleven o'clock that day he left his house in his coach drawn by four bay horses, preceded by Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson in military uniform, riding two of his white horses, and followed by his private secretaries, Messrs. Lear and Nelson, in his chariot. His own coach was followed by carriages bearing Chief-Justice Jay and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War, Secretary Jefferson not having arrived at the seat of government. At the outer door of the Hall the President was met by the door-keepers of the Senate and House of Representatives, and conducted by them to the door of the Senate Chamber, from which the President was led through the assembled members of Congress, the Senate on one side and the House on the other, to the chair, where he was seated. The members all rose as the President entered, and the gentlemen who had accompanied him took their stand behind the Senators. In the course of a few minutes the President rose (and with him the members of both houses) and made his speech, after which he handed copies to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and then retired, bowing to the members (who stood) as he passed out. In the same manner as he came, and with the same attendants, he returned to his house. "On this occasion," Washington wrote in his diary, "I was dressed in a suit of clothes made at the woolen manufactory at Hartford, as the buttons also were." At an appointed hour on the 14th the members of the houses of Congress proceeded in carriages to the mansion of the President (those of the House of Representatives with the mace, preceded by their Speaker), and there presented their respective addresses in response to his speech. These stately ceremonies at the opening of the sessions of Congress were in vogue until Jefferson took his seat as Chief Magistrate, when they were all omitted and the President sent to the assembled Congress his annual and other messages in writing, by his private secretary, as is now done.

The public credit was a topic that demanded and received the earliest and most earnest attention of Congress at the second session. The report

of the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Hamilton) had been waited for with great solicitude, not only by the public creditors, but by every thoughtful patriot. It was presented in writing to the House of Representatives on the 15th of January, 1790, and embodied a financial scheme which was generally adopted and remained the line of policy of the national government, with very slight modifications, for more than twenty years. On the recommendation of the Secretary, the national government assumed not only the foreign and domestic debts incurred for carrying on the late war, as its own, but also the debts contracted by the several States during that period, for the general welfare. The foreign debt, amounting with accrued interest to almost \$12,000,000, was due chiefly to France and private lenders in Holland. The domestic debt, including outstanding continental money and interest, amounted to over \$42,000,000, nearly one-third of which was accumulated accrued interest. The State debts assumed amounted to \$21,000,000, distributed as follows: New Hampshire, \$300,000; Massachusetts, \$4,000,000; Rhode Island (which came into the Union by adopting the Constitution in May, 1790), \$200,000; Connecticut, \$1,600,000; New York, \$1,200,000; New Jersey, \$800,000; Pennsylvania, \$2,200,000; Delaware, \$200,000; Maryland, \$800,000; Virginia, \$3,000,000; North Carolina, \$2,400,000; South Carolina, \$4,000,000; Georgia, \$300,000.

The report called forth long, earnest, and able debates in and out of Congress. Concerning the foreign debt, there was but one opinion, and that was it must be paid in full according to the terms on which it was contracted; and the President was authorized to borrow \$12,000,000, if necessary, for its liquidation. With respect to the domestic debt, there was a wide difference of opinion. As the government certificates, continental bills of credit, and other evidences of debt were then held chiefly by speculators who had purchased them at greatly reduced rates, the idea had been put forth by prominent men that it would be proper and expedient to apply a scale of depreciation, as in the case of the paper-money toward the close of the war, in liquidating those claims. Hamilton warmly opposed this proposition as not only dishonest but impolitic, arguing that public credit, which might be blasted by such a proceeding, was essential to the very existence of the new government. He therefore urged that all the debts should be met according to the terms of the contract. He proposed the funding of the public debt in a fair and economical way, by which the public creditors should receive their promised interest of six per cent. until the government should be able to pay the principal, and for the latter purpose he proposed to devote the proceeds of the General Post-office as a sinking fund. The Secretary assumed that, in five years, by an honorable course in its financial

operations, the government would be able to effect loans at five and even at four per cent. with which the claims might be met. Hamilton's propositions, in general, were agreed to in March. A new loan was authorized, payable in certificates of the domestic debt, at their par value and in continental bills of credit at the rate of one hundred for one. Congress also authorized an additional loan, payable in certificates of the State debts, to the amount of \$21,000,000. A new board of commissioners was appointed, with full power to settle all claims on general principles of equity. A system of revenue from imports and internal excise, proposed by Hamilton, was also adopted.

While the financial question was under debate, another subject, more exciting, was presented to the House, in the form of a petition or memorial from the Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and also of New York, on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade. Slavery then existed in all the States but Massachusetts, whose constitution contained a clause that had silently abolished it. In other States benevolent and patriotic persons had made attempts to have the system of slave-labor abolished; and these memorials proposed action of the national Congress on the subject. They were seconded by another from the Pennsylvania Society for the abolition of slavery, signed by Dr. Franklin, its president. This was the last public act of that great and good man, for he died a few weeks afterward.

These were the first debates in the national legislature on the subject of slavery, which, from time to time, afterward shook the foundations of the Union and finally culminated in the Civil War whose fires consumed the institution. They were ended on the occasion here mentioned, in March, 1790, by the adoption of a report which declared substantially (1) that Congress had no constitutional power to interfere with the African Slave-trade before the year 1808; (2) that they had no power to interfere with slavery in the States wherein it existed; (3) that they might restrain citizens of the United States from carrying on the African Slave-trade to supply foreigners with slaves, and (4) that they had power to prohibit foreigners fitting out vessels in our ports for transporting persons from Africa to any foreign port. It was when the debates on the financial scheme and the slavery question were at their height, that Jefferson arrived in New York and took his seat in Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State.

During this session the question of the permanent location of the seat of the national government was discussed, and it was finally decided that it should be at the head of sloop navigation on the Potomac River, within a territory ten miles square lying on each side of the river, ceded by Maryland

and Virginia, and named, in honor of the discoverer of America, The District of Columbia. It was to become the seat of government after the lapse of ten years. Acts for the issuing of patents for improvements, and copyrights on books, were also passed; and after a laborious and quite an exciting session, Congress adjourned in August to meet again in December.

The third session was a most important one, for measures were then adopted which laid the foundations of public credit and national prosperity deep and abiding. The relations with the Indians on the frontiers of the republic had received the earnest attention of the new government; and by prudent management Washington had induced McGillivray, a half-breed leader of the Creek Indians, near the Gulf of Mexico, to come to New York with a large delegation of Creek chiefs to negotiate a treaty. They were received by the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, then recently established, whose ideal patrons were Columbus and a legendary Indian chief named Tammany who had once been lord of Manhattan Island, and was adopted by them as the patron saint of America. The members, dressed in Indian costume, escorted the deputation into the City of New York, and entertained them at a public dinner. A treaty was concluded by which all the territory south and west of the Oconee River (in portions of which some Georgians had settled) was secured to the Indians, and all east of that stream was relinquished by them to the white people. There was also a mutual agreement of friendship; and by a secret article it was stipulated that presents to the amount of \$1,500 were to be annually distributed among the nation. This was calculated to secure the fidelity of the savages. Arrangements with the Indians in the Northwest were not so easily made, as we shall observe presently.

The subject of a national currency had early engaged the attention of Congress. Hamilton, in his masterly report on the finances, proposed the establishment of a national bank. The whole banking capital in the United States was then only \$2,000,000, invested in the Bank of North America, established by Morris, in Philadelphia, in 1781; the Bank of New York, in New York city, and the Bank of Massachusetts, in Boston. A bill for the establishment of such a bank in the City of Philadelphia became a law early in 1791, when a corporation with the title of "President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States" was created, to be governed by twenty-five directors, to have a capital of \$15,000,000, and to exist for twenty years. This bank went into operation in February, 1794, with a capital of \$10,000,000, and branches were established at various commercial centres.

A national coinage had occupied the attention of the public mind for



some time. So early as 1782, the subject was presented to the Continental Congress in an able report by Gouverneur Morris, written at the request of Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance. In 1784, Mr. Jefferson, chairman of the committee appointed for the purpose, submitted a report on the subject, agreeing with Morris in regard to a *decima* system, but disagreeing with him as to the details. Morris tried to harmonize the moneys of all the States. Starting with an ascertained fraction as an unit, for a divisor, he proposed the following table of moneys: Ten units to be equal to one penny; ten pence to one bill; ten bills one dollar (about seventy-five cents of our currency), and ten dollars one crown. Jefferson proposed to strike four coins—a golden piece of the value of ten dollars; a dollar, in silver; a tenth of a dollar in silver, and a hundredth of a dollar in copper. In 1785, Congress adopted Mr. Jefferson's recommendation, and made legal provision for the coinage. This was the origin of our *cent*, *dime*, *dollar*, and *eagle*. The establishment of a mint was delayed, however, and no special action was taken in that direction until 1790, when Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, urged the matter upon the attention of Congress. It was not until April, 1792, when laws were proposed for the establishment of a mint. It was not put into regular operation until 1795. During the three preceding years there were experimental operations, and long debates were had in Congress concerning the device for the new coins. The Senate proposed the head of the President at the time of the coinage; the House of Representatives proposed an imaginary head of Liberty, as less imitative of royalty. The latter was adopted. The first mint was established in Philadelphia, then the temporary seat of the national government, and remained the sole coiner until 1835, when branches were authorized in North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. It was at about the time when the law passed authorizing the establishment of a mint (1792), when a postal system, substantially the same as now exists, was put into operation.

Vermont, originally known as the New Hampshire Grants, had a long controversy with New York about territorial jurisdiction, which was not settled when the war for independence broke out. In 1777, the people of the province, in convention, declared it to be an independent State. In 1781, the Congress offered to admit it into the Confederacy then formed, but with a considerable curtailment of its area. The people refused the terms, and it remained an independent State ten years longer. Then New York agreed to relinquish all claim to the territory and political jurisdiction on the payment by Vermont of the sum of \$30,000. This was done; and on the 4th of March, 1791, that State entered our Union as the fourteenth. The same year the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants was com-

pleted, with the result mentioned at the beginning of this Book. On the first of June the following year, Kentucky, with the consent of Virginia of which it formed a part, entered the Union as the fifteenth State.

We have seen with what an affluent stream emigration flowed into the Ohio region after the organization of the Northwestern Territory in 1787. General Arthur St. Clair, a worthy officer of the Continental Army, was appointed its governor. He soon found serious trouble brewing there. The British, in violation of the treaty of 1783, still held Detroit and other Western posts, and British traders were jealous of the hardy settlers who were gathering in communities north of the Ohio. British agents, instigated by Sir John Johnson, the former Indian agent in the Mohawk Valley, and Guy Carleton (then Lord Dorchester), again governor of Canada, were inciting the savages to make war on the settlers. These well-established facts gave reasons for a prevalent belief that the British government yet hoped for an opportunity to bring back the young republic to a state of colonial dependence. The fostered discontents of the Indians were developed into open hostilities, in the spring of 1790, and attempts at pacific arrangements were fruitless.

In September, 1790, General Harmer led more than a thousand troops, regulars and volunteers, from Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) into the Indian country around the headwaters of the Maumee River, to chastise the savages as Sullivan had scourged the Senecas in 1779. Instead of humbling them by spreading desolation over their fair land, Harmer, in two battles near the present village of Fort Wayne, Indiana, was defeated with considerable loss, and abandoned the enterprise. In May the following year, General Scott of Kentucky, with eight hundred men, penetrated the Wabash country almost to the site of the present town of Lafayette, Indiana, and destroyed several villages. At the beginning of August, General Wilkinson, with more than five hundred men, pushed into the same region, and pressing on to the Tippecanoe and the prairies, destroyed some Kickapoo villages, and then made his way to the Falls of the Ohio, near Louisville. But the Indians, instead of being humbled by these scourges, were urged thereby, and the false representations of British emissaries, to fight desperately for their country and lives.

Congress now prepared to plant fortifications in the heart of the Indian country; and in September, 1791, two thousand troops were gathered at Fort Washington and marched northward under the immediate command of General Butler, accompanied by General St. Clair as chief. Twenty miles from Fort Washington, they built Fort Hamilton, on the Miami River. Forty-two miles further on they built Fort Jefferson; and when they moved

from there, late in October, there were evidences that dusky scouts were hovering on their flanks.

At length the little army of invaders halted and encamped on the borders of a tributary of the Upper Wabash, in Darke County, Ohio, near the Indiana line, a hundred miles from Cincinnati. The wearied soldiers went to rest early, unsuspecting of much danger near. All night long the sentinels fired upon prowling Indians; and before sunrise on the morning of the



DESTROYING INDIAN VILLAGES.

4th of November, 1791, while the army were preparing for breakfast, they were surprised by the horrid yells of a body of savages, who fell upon them with great fury. The troops made a gallant defence, but the slaughter among them was dreadful. General Butler was killed, and most of his officers were slain or wounded. The smitten army fled in confusion. It was with great difficulty that St. Clair, who was tortured with gout, after having three horses killed under him, escaped on a pack-horse. That evening Adjutant-General Winthrop Sargent wrote in his diary: "The troops have all been defeated; and though it is impossible, at this time, to ascertain our loss, yet there can be no manner of doubt that more than half the army are either killed or wounded." Among the fugitives were more than a

hundred feminine camp-followers—wives of the soldiers. One of them was so fleet of foot that she kept ahead of the flying army. Her long, red hair streaming behind her, was the *oriflamme* that the soldiers followed in their flight back to Fort Washington.

This defeat spread dismay over the frontiers, and hot indignation throughout the land. Washington was powerfully moved by wrath, for his last words to St. Clair were, "Beware of a surprise." He lost his usual control of his emotions, and for a few minutes he was swayed by a tempest of anger. He paced the room in a rage. "It was awful," wrote Mr. Lear, his private secretary, who was present. "More than once he threw his hands up as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. 'O God! O God!' he exclaimed, 'he is worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him—the curses of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!'" His wrath soon subsided. "This must not go beyond this room," he said; and in a low tone, as if speaking to himself, he continued—"St. Clair shall have justice. I will hear him without prejudice—he shall have full justice." And when, awhile afterward, the veteran soldier, bowed with infirmities and the burden of public obloquy, sought the presence of his old commander, Washington extended his hand and gave him a gracious reception. "Poor old St. Clair," said Custis, who was present, "hobbled up to his chief, seized the offered hand in both of his, and gave vent to his feelings in copious sobs and tears."

Fortunately for the frontier settlers, the Indians did not follow up the advantage they had gained, and hostilities ceased for awhile. Commissioners were appointed to treat with hostile tribes, but through the interference of British officials, the negotiations were fruitless. In the meantime General Anthony Wayne, the bold soldier of the war for independence, had been appointed St. Clair's successor in military command. Apprehending that the failure of the negotiations would be immediately followed by hostilities against the frontier settlements, Wayne marched into the Indian country with a competent force in the autumn of 1793. He spent the winter at Greenville, not far from the place of St. Clair's defeat, where he built a stockade and gave it the significant name of Fort Recovery. The following summer he pushed forward to the Maumee River, and at its junction with the Au Glaize, he built Fort Defiance. On the St. Mary's he had erected Fort Adams as an intermediate post; and in August he pushed down the Maumee with about three thousand men, and encamped within a short distance of a British military post at the foot of the Maumee Rapids called Fort Miami.

With ample force to destroy the savage power in spite of their British



allies, and to desolate their country, Wayne offered the Indians peace and tranquillity if they would lay down the hatchet and musket. They madly refused, and sought to gain time by craftiness. "Stay where you are ten days," they said, "and we will treat with you; if you advance, we will give you battle." Wayne did advance to the head of the Maumee Rapids; and at a place called The Fallen Timbers, not far above the present Maumee city, he attacked and defeated the savages on the 20th of August, 1794. By the side of almost every dead warrior of the forest, lay a musket and



FIRING ON FROWLING INDIANS.

bayonet from British armories. Wayne then laid waste the country, and at the middle of September he moved up the Maumee to the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's that form that stream, and built a strong fortification there which was named Fort Wayne. The little army went into winter-quarters at Greenville. The next summer the sachems and warriors of the Western tribes, about eleven hundred in all (representing twelve cantons), met (August 3, 1795) commissioners of the United States there, formed a treaty of peace and ceded to our government about twenty-five thousand square miles of territory in the present States of Michigan and Indiana, besides sixteen separate tracts, including lands and forts. In consideration of these cessions, the Indians received goods from the United States of the value of \$20,000, as presents, and were promised an annual allowance valued at nearly \$10,000, to be equally distributed among all the tribes who were parties to the treaty. These were the Chippewas, Ottawas,

Pottawatomies, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnoese, Miamis and Kickapoos, who then occupied the ceded lands.

At the close of the council, on the 20th, Wayne said to the Indians: "Brothers, I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit that the peace now established may be permanent, and that it will hold us together in the bonds of friendship until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds, and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry."

By a special treaty made with Great Britain at about that time (which will be noticed presently), the Western military posts were soon afterward evacuated by the British. The security which this action and the treaty with the Indians at Greenville gave, there was very little more trouble with the savages in the Northwest until just before the breaking out of the war of 1812-15; and an immense impetus was given to emigration into that region. The country northwest of the Ohio was now rapidly filled with a hardy population.



INDIANS ARMED BY THE BRITISH.

## CHAPTER III.

FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES—REVOLUTION IN FRANCE—JEFFERSON'S SYMPATHIES WITH THE REVOLUTIONISTS—HIS SUSPICIONS—JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON AT VARIANCE—"CITIZEN GENET" AND THE REPUBLICANS—PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY—THE WHISKY INSURRECTION—JAY'S TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN—THE AFRICAN CORSAIRS—TREATY WITH ALGIERS—BRITISH AND FRENCH DEPREDATIONS—BEGINNING OF OUR NATIONAL NAVY—WASHINGTON RETIRES FROM THE PRESIDENCY—HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS—STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL ASCENDENCY—WASHINGTON ABUSED.

THE discussions concerning the national Constitution had, as we have observed, engendered party spirit in the new republic which speedily assumed definite forms and titles, first as *Federalist* and *Anti-Federalist*, and then as *Federalist* and *Republican*. The Federalist party was composed of those who favored much concentration of power in the national government; the Republican or Democratic party favored State sovereignty and the diffusion of power among the people. Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, was the recognized leader of the Republicans, and Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was regarded as the head of the Federalists. The lines between these two parties were distinctly drawn, during the second session of the second Congress, and the spirit of each became rampant among the people.

Events then occurring in France had much to do in intensifying party spirit in this country. The British government had sent George Hammond here as full minister, and he had arrived in August, 1791. In December following, our government sent Thomas Pinckney as American ambassador to England; and so a good understanding between the lately belligerent governments was established. With the French government, their ancient ally, the United States held the most friendly relations.

Meanwhile a revolution, violent in its nature and far-reaching in its consequences, had broken out in France. It was the immediate consequence of the teachings of our own revolution. The people of France had long endured almost irresponsible despotism, and were yearning for freedom when the French officers and soldiers, who had served in America during the latter years of our struggle for independence, returned to their country

full of republican ideas and aspirations. They began to question the right of a few to oppress the many. The public heart was soon stirred by new ideas, and in the movement that followed, Lafayette was conspicuous for awhile. The rumblings of the pent volcano of passion in the bosom of society were heard on every hand. Legislators assumed to be responsible to the people; and the Parliament of Paris, which for hundreds of years had been a mere court for registering royal edicts, now (1787) refused to do so, and in consequence the new and grievous taxes which the war had rendered necessary, could not be levied. The puzzled king called the States-General together. It was a body which had not met for nearly two hundred years. Like the Long Parliament of England, it soon took all power into its own hands, and very shortly the king was, in effect, a prisoner in his palace, and the representatives of the people proceeded to make society as level as possible. The Bastile, whose history represented royal despotism, was assailed by the citizens of Paris and pulled down. The privileges of the nobility and clergy were abolished, and the church property was seized. The king's brothers and many of the nobles fled in affright across the frontier, and tried to induce other sovereigns to take up the cause of royalty in France and restore the former order of things. The Emperor of Austria (brother of the French queen), and the King of Prussia, entered into a treaty to that effect, at Pilnitz, in 1791.

When this treaty became known, matters were brought to a crisis in France. War followed. English troops were sent to Flanders to watch the movements on the continent. Robespierre and other self-constituted leaders in Paris, held sway for awhile, and the most frightful massacres of nobles and priests ensued. Eighteen hundred were slain in one night. The weak and unfortunate king, who had in vain accepted constitution after constitution as it was offered to him, was now deposed and a republic was established. Lafayette and other moderate men had disappeared from the arena, which had become an awfully bloody one. The king was tried on a charge of inviting foreigners to invade France, was found guilty and beheaded in Jan., 1793. His beautiful queen soon shared his fate. The English troops sent to Flanders were called to fight the French, for the rulers of France had declared war against Great Britain, Spain, and Holland, in February.

When Mr. Jefferson came into the cabinet of Washington, he had just returned from France, where he had witnessed the uprising of the people against their oppressors. Regarding the movement as kindred to the late uprising of his own countrymen against Great Britain, it enlisted his warmest sympathies, and he expected to find the bosoms of the people of the United States glowing with feelings like his own. He was sadly disappointed.



The conservatism of Washington and the tone of society in New York, in which some of the leaven of Toryism yet lingered, chilled him. He became suspicious of all around him, for he regarded the indifference of the people to the struggles of the French, their old allies, as an evil omen. He had scarcely taken his seat in the cabinet before he declared that some of his colleagues held decidedly monarchical views; and the belief became fixed in his mind that there was a party in the United States continually at work, secretly and sometimes openly, for the overthrow of republicanism here. This idea became a sort of monomania, and haunted him until his death more than thirty years afterward.

Jefferson soon rallied under his standard a large party of sympathizers with the French revolutionists. Regarding Hamilton as the head and front of the monarchical party, he professed to believe that the financial plans of that statesman were designed to enslave the people, and that the rights and liberties of the States and of individuals were in danger. Hamilton, on the other hand, regarded the national Constitution as inadequate in strength to perform its required functions, and believed weakness to be its greatest defect. With this idea Jefferson took issue. He charged his political opponents, and especially Hamilton, with corrupt and anti-republican designs, selfish motives, and treacherous intentions; and so was inaugurated that system of personal abuse and vituperation which has ever been a disgrace to the press and political leaders of this country. Bitter partisan quarrels now prevailed, in which Jefferson and Hamilton were the chief actors. The people were greatly excited. The Republicans, who hated the British intensely, called the Federalists the "British party," and the Federalists called their opponents the "French party." The latter hailed with joy the news of the death of the French king, and applauded the declaration of war against England and Holland, forgetting the substantial sympathy which the latter had shown for the Americans during their struggle for independence. Only Washington appeared calm in the midst of the uproar that proceeded from antagonists in his cabinet.

In the midst of this excitement "Citizen Genet," as he was called, an ambassador sent to our government by the French Republic, arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, where he was cordially received, in April, 1793. Washington had anxiously watched the rising tide of popular sentiment in favor of giving material aid to the French in their warfare on monarchies, and on the 22d of April he issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which he warned all citizens of the United States not to engage in the kindling war in Europe. This gave great offence to the Republicans, or Democrats, and Washington was abused without stint.

Genet's zeal outran his prudence. Without waiting to present his credentials, or even to visit the seat of our national government, he proceeded to act upon instructions of his own so-called government. He had been furnished with blank naval and military commissions, and was empowered to constitute every French consul in the United States a court of admiralty, authorized to sell prizes. Then he proceeded to fit out privateers to depredate upon the commerce of England, Holland, and Spain. One of them went prowling up our coast, and reached Philadelphia (to which city the national government had been removed) with a prize before Genet arrived there. He was received with enthusiasm on his arrival; and so anxious were his admirers to do homage to their idol, that they invited him to a public dinner before he had presented his credentials.

Genet was deeply impressed with Washington's dignity, but felt uneasy in his calm presence; so, after the ceremony of his first presentation was over, he hastened to the dinner to which he was invited, where he might easily have imagined himself to be in a Jacobin Church in Paris—songs, toasts, decorations, were all to his taste. On the table was a roasted pig, to which they gave the name of the lately murdered king. Its head, severed from its body, was carried around the table to each guest, who, after putting the *bonnet rouge* on his own head, pronounced the word "tyrant" and proceeded with a knife to mangle that of the animal to be served to so unworthy a company. Strange as it may seem to us, it is nevertheless true, that so infatuated were the partisans of the French, that leading citizens of Philadelphia, with General Mifflin, then governor of Pennsylvania, at their head, participated in the disgraceful orgies at that dinner. A Democratic tavern in Philadelphia had a revolting sign, on which was painted the headless corpse of the murdered queen. "Democratic clubs" were formed in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of Paris; and, encouraged by these and newspapers in their interest, Genet persisted in his defiant course, and tried to excite hostility between our people and their government. His acts finally disgusted Jefferson and all patriotic men. The atrocities of the French revolutionists, when known, produced a revulsion of feeling in the United States, and Washington finally requested and obtained Genet's recall. Fouchet, who succeeded him, was instructed to assure the President that Genet's course was not approved. The latter dared not return to France at that time, for he feared the sanguinary men whom he had represented. He married a daughter of Governor Clinton, settled in this country, and became a useful citizen. Our government had passed through great peril, but the helm of the ship of state was in the hand of a wise and expert pilot. No doubt the firmness and prudence of Washington, at that time, saved the republic from utter ruin.

The government was now subjected to another severe strain. There was a popular outbreak in Western Pennsylvania known in our history as the Whisky Insurrection, which gave the government much uneasiness in 1794. The rye crop west of the Alleghany Mountains around the forks of the Ohio, was largely converted into whisky by Scotch-Irish distillers. Excise laws which imposed duties on domestic distilled liquors were passed by Congress, but these western distillers despised them. When, in the spring of 1794, after the adjournment of Congress, officers were sent to enforce the laws, they were resisted by the people in arms. The insurrection became general throughout all the Pittsburgh region, and many outrages were committed. The old mob-remedy for a human nuisance was resorted to—tarring and feathering. One officer was stripped of all his clothing, smeared with warm tar, and the contents of a feather bolster was emptied upon him, giving him a most ludicrous appearance. He did not answer the philosopher's definition of a man—"a two-legged animal without feathers." Buildings occupied by friends of the government were burned; mails were robbed, and government officers were everywhere insulted and abused. At one time there were between six and seven thousand insurgents under arms. The local militia formed a part of the mob. The insurgent spirit spread into the border counties of Virginia; and the President and his cabinet, perceiving with alarm this imitation of French politics which had been inculcated by the Democrats, took immediate steps to crush the growing monster. The President first issued two proclamations (August 7 and September 25), but without effect. A convention of insurgents, held at Pittsburgh (of which young Albert Gallatin, afterward Secretary of the Treasury, was secretary), had declared the excise law to be "unjust, dangerous to liberty, oppressive to the poor, and particularly oppressive to the Western country, where grain could only be disposed of by distilling it," and had resolved to treat all excisemen with contempt. A committee of correspondence was appointed, and rebellion was fairly organized. The mob violence was, in a manner, personified, under the name of *Tom the Tinker*, and the perpetrators called these performances "mending the still." They were cheered on by "Democratic societies" which were secret associations.

It was estimated that the insurgent counties could raise sixteen thousand fighting men; and Judge Brackenridge of that region intimated that, should coercion be attempted by the national government, the insurgents might make application to Great Britain for aid, and even march on Philadelphia, then the national capital. Washington was not to be trifled with. He would listen to no temporizing policy proposed by Democratic leaders. After exhausting peaceable means he ordered out a large body of militia of

Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and sent them under the command of General Henry Lee, toward the insurgent district. The leaders of the "rebels" were alarmed, and hesitated. The argument of force was effectual, and again the wisdom and firmness of Washington averted a great peril to the young nation.

Another cloud of difficulty had gathered, dark and threatening, in the political firmament of our country. For some time a bitter feeling had been growing between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, because of the inexecution of the treaty of 1783. There were mutual accusations of infractions of that treaty. Disputes constantly arising, the bitterness of resentment, daily increased, was largely fostered by the "French party," or Republicans; and in the spring of 1794, war between the two nations seemed probable. The Americans complained that no indemnification had been made for negroes carried away at the close of the Revolution; that the British held military posts on their frontiers, contrary to the treaty; that British emissaries had excited the hostility of the Indian tribes, and that, to retaliate on France, the English had captured our neutral vessels, and impressed our seamen into the British service. The British government and people complained that stipulations concerning the property of loyalists, and also in relation to debts contracted in England before the Revolution, had not been complied with. The property of the Tories who had fled from the country was confiscated, and not much of it was regained. The British government finally paid to these sufferers an aggregate sum of more than fifteen million dollars.

Again the wisdom and prudence of Washington averted the national calamity of war. He proposed to send a special envoy to the British court to negotiate for an amicable settlement of existing disputes. Congress approved the measure, and on the 19th of April, 1794, John Jay was appointed to fulfill that delicate mission. He arrived in London in June, and was very courteously received by the British government. On the 19th of November following, a treaty was concluded which provided for the collection of debts here, by British creditors, contracted before the Revolution, but it did not procure indemnity for those who lost slaves. It secured indemnity for unlawful captures on the high seas, and also the evacuation of military posts on the frontiers yet held by the British. In order to secure some important points, Mr. Jay was compelled to yield others. The treaty was defective in some things, and objectionable in others, but it was the best that could be obtained at that time, and it averted war with Great Britain. It created intense hostility to Washington's administration, and to Jay personally, at home. The proposition to send an envoy to treat with



Great Britain had been denounced by the Democratic societies and newspapers as pusillanimous. Now these societies and newspapers which had resolved to oppose it whatever might be its provisions, attacked the treaty, the President and Mr. Jay, with vehemence, on the strength of mere rumor as to its character.

The treaty reached the President in March, 1795, but the Senate was not convened until June to consider it. Meanwhile an unfaithful member of



POLITICAL MOB IN CHARLESTON.

the cabinet (Mr. Randolph of Virginia) revealed enough of its character to warrant attacks upon it. A mad, seditious cry went over the land from the Opposition. In several cities mobs threatened personal violence to the supporters of the treaty. Mr. Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting in New York, while speaking in the open air. "These are hard arguments," he said, when a stone grazed his forehead. The British minister at Philadelphia was insulted; and in Charleston, the British flag was trailed in the dust of the streets. Jay was denounced as a traitor; and in Virginia, disunion was recommended as a cure for existing political evils. "France is our national ally," shouted Democratic societies. "She has a government congenial to our own. . . . Citizens, your security depends on France. . . . Let us unite with France, and stand or fall together," cried factious orators at public meetings held throughout the country; and the Democrats adorned their hats with the French cockade. Jay was burned in effigy in many places, and longings for a guillotine were freely expressed.

But the Senate ratified the treaty on the 24th of June, 1795, and removed the seal of secrecy, at the same time forbade the publication of the treaty for prudential reasons, for there were rumors of an important order having been issued by Great Britain. Thomson Mason, a senator from Virginia, in violation of the rules of the Senate, of official decorum, and of personal honor, sent a copy of it to a Democratic newspaper. A rhymer of the day addressed Mr. Mason on the subject, in the following manner:

“ Ah, Thomson Mason ! long thy fame shall rise,  
With Democratic incense to the skies !  
Long shall the world admire thy manly soul,  
Which scorned the naughty Senate's base control ;  
Come boldly forward with thy mighty name  
And gave the treaty up for public game ! ”

The ratification of this treaty was followed in October by the conclusion of one with Spain, by which the boundaries between the Spanish Territories of Louisiana and Florida were defined. This treaty also secured to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi River, and the use of the port of New Orleans for ten years. Louisiana had been ceded to Spain by the French, in 1762.

As soon as one excitement was allayed in our country, another appeared, and during the whole of Washington's administration of eight years, when the foreign and domestic policy of our government was fashioned and its machinery put in operation, the greatest wisdom, circumspection and conservative action, on the part of government officers, was continually demanded. Difficulties were constantly appearing on the horizon, sometimes like mere specks of clouds in the far distance, and at others near and in alarming shapes. These were chiefly in relation to trade, especially in foreign lands. American commerce had begun to rapidly expand, and had found its way through the open gate at the Pillars of Hercules, into the Mediterranean Sea. There it was met by Moslem corsairs of the Barbary Powers on the northern coast of Africa, who had long and successfully depredated upon commerce in those waters. They seized our merchandise and held our seamen in captivity in order to obtain ransom-money for them. President Washington had called the attention of Congress to these piracies as early as 1790, and at the same time Secretary Jefferson submitted an able report on the subject, in which he gave many interesting details touching the position of American commerce in the Mediterranean Sea. Little, however, could then be done for the protection of our commerce there, for the Americans were without a navy ; and for that protection we were dependent, for some time, on the fleets of Portugal, with which nation Algiers, the

chief piratical power, was at war. Even this barrier was broken in 1793, secretly, by the British, for the avowed purpose of damaging France. The agent of that government at Algiers concluded a treaty with the Dey, or ruler, in which was a stipulation that the Portuguese government should not for one year afford protection to the commerce of any nation against



JOHN JAY BURNED IN EFFIGY.

Algerine cruisers. So these North African pirates were immediately released from all restraint, and roamed the Mediterranean Sea without interruption. The Americans were indignant, but could do nothing. They had already been compelled to endure insults, without the power of resenting them. When Colonel David Humphreys, who was sent by the United States as a commissioner to the Dey of Algiers, that haughty ruler, seated on a divan covered with rich cushions, and his turbaned officers of state standing near, said: "If I were to make peace with everybody, what should I do with my corsairs? what should I do with my soldiers? They would take off my head for the want of other prizes, not being able to live on their miserable allow-

ance." This argument was unanswerable, and Humphreys wrote to his government: "If we mean to have a commerce, we must have a navy to defend it."

These depredations of the pirates and the delicate relations of our rising republic to the monarchies of the Old World caused Washington, in his annual message to Congress in December, 1793, to say: "If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." Acting upon this hint Congress passed an act in the spring of 1794, authorizing the creation of a small navy, and appropriating about \$700,000. There was strong and determined opposition to the measure, and delay was the consequence. Meanwhile the Algerine pirate fleet, released by the British treaty withdrawing Portuguese protection, had left the bounds of the Mediterranean and were out upon the Atlantic. Within a month after that treaty was made, ten American merchant vessels and over a hundred seamen were captured by the Algerine corsairs. Humphreys tried to make terms with the Dey, but the elated ruler refused to listen. The United States paid about a million dollars as a ransom for American captives, and in the autumn of 1795, our government was compelled to agree, by treaty, to pay an annual tribute to the Dey for the relief of captured seamen, according to long usage among European nations. This was humiliating, but nothing better could then be done. Humanity demanded it. Between the years 1785 and 1793, the Algerine pirates captured fifteen American vessels and made one hundred and eighty officers and seamen slaves of the most revolting kind. To redeem the survivors of these captives and others taken more recently, the United States paid the large sum just mentioned.

Congress, by the act of 1794, had authorized the President to cause the construction of six frigates; but it was provided that work on them should cease, in the event of peace with Algiers being secured. They also provided for the erection of harbor fortifications and the purchase of cannon and artillery munitions for them. Provision was also made for the establishment of arsenals and armories. Very small sums were appropriated for these purposes. These were the first beginnings of our army, navy, and system of fortifications. Washington immediately ordered the keels of the six frigates to be laid at as many ports, namely: Portsmouth, N. H., Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Norfolk. The work was going on vigorously, when the treaty with the Dey of Algiers put a stop to it, and the mercantile marine of the United States lost all hope of protection in the event of a war with any foreign government.



The folly of not completing the naval vessels was soon made manifest, when British cruisers began the practice of taking seamen from American vessels, without leave, under the pretence that they were British deserters. The French, too, were becoming aggressive on the seas. Their government was offended by Washington's proclamation of neutrality, and especially with Jay's treaty with Great Britain. It wanted the Americans to show an active participation with the French, in their hatred of the English. It was offended with the Americans because of their treaty with Algiers independently of French intervention; and the success of our negotiations with Spain for the free navigation of the Mississippi River, excited the jealousy of the French rulers. In a word, because the United States, having the strength, assumed to stand alone, the French were offended and threatened the grown-up child with personal chastisement. In 1796, cruisers of the French republic began depredations upon American commerce, under the authority of a secret order issued by the French *Directory*, as the existing government was called. That government had declared the alliance with the Americans at an end. Under the authority of the secret order numerous



JOHN ADAMS.

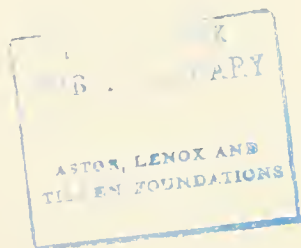
American vessels were seized in the West Indies. When, in the next year (1797), war with France seemed inevitable, Congress, on the urgent recommendation of the new President (John Adams), caused the frigates *Constitution*, *Constellation*, and *United States* to be completed, equipped, and sent to sea. This was the real beginning of the American navy which, only a few years afterward, though weak in numbers, performed many gallant exploits. From that time the navy became the cherished arm of the national defence; and chiefly through its instrumentality, the name and power of the United States began to be properly appreciated in Europe, at the beginning of the present century.

The second term of Washington's administration was now drawing to a close. He had been elected for the second time, in the fall of 1792, much against his wishes, for he felt, then, that his health was giving way, and his private affairs needed his attention. He was inaugurated in the presence of the Senate, when he made a short speech; and he served his country four years longer. His career as President was a most trying and important one, and must ever be remembered with gratitude by the American people. During that time the government was put in motion with great sagacity on the part of the President and his cabinet; its financial, domestic, and foreign policy was established, and its strength was so fully tested by immoderate strains, that even Hamilton began to think its powers sufficient to perform its required functions. It was the wish of a majority of the people that Washington should serve a third term, but he positively refused; and in the fall of 1796, that majority gave their votes for electors known to be favorable to John Adams for President of the republic. In September of that year Washington issued his admirable Farewell Address to the people of the United States. It was an earnest appeal to them to preserve the Union as the only sure hope for the continuance of their liberties and of the national life and prosperity.

The Presidential election in 1796 was a vehement struggle by the Federalists and Republicans for political ascendancy and the control of the government. The candidates were John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the latter having left the cabinet at the close of 1793. Every appeal to the passions that party rancor could invent, was employed. Adet, the French minister, who had succeeded Fouchet, imprudently issued an inflammatory address to the American people, in which he charged the administration of Washington with violations of the friendship that had existed between the United States and France; and other partisans of Jefferson, in their zeal to injure the Federal party, made gross personal attacks upon Washington. A newspaper writer said: "If ever a nation has been debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation has been deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct, then, be an example to future ages. Let it serve to be a warning that no man may be an idol. Let the history of the Federal government instruct mankind that the mark of patriotism may be worn to conceal the foulest designs against the liberties of the people." And on the day when Washington retired from office in March, 1797, and was succeeded by John Adams as President, the same Philadelphia newspaper (*The Aurora*) contained another gross personal attack upon the beloved patriot. After declaring that he was no longer possessed of



George Washington



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APY

ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



"power to multiply evils upon the United States," the writer said: "When a retrospect is taken of the Washingtonian administration for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have cankered the principles of republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to put in jeopardy its very existence. Such, however, are the facts, and with them staring us in the face, this day ought to be a *jubilee* in the United States."

The virulence of partisanship in those days was not only as intense, but its methods were as dishonest as they are now. Among other means employed at about the time of Washington's retirement to private life, to injure his character, was the republication of a series of forged letters, purporting to have been written by him to members of his family, in the summer of 1776, and which appeared in print in 1777. These letters, if genuine, ought to have blasted Washington's reputation for patriotism, integrity, and honor. It was pretended that they were found in a small portmanteau which was in possession of his favorite body-servant, Billy, when the latter, as was falsely alleged, was captured at Fort Lee. Washington, conscious of his integrity and trustful of his countrymen, paid no attention to the publication at the time. There were ample proofs of their forgery, and they had been forgotten, when, before he left the chair of state in the spring of 1797, they were republished. The object then was the same as that twenty years before, namely to destroy public confidence in the great Leader.

Washington now thought it necessary to notice the forgery. He did so in a letter to the then Secretary of War, written on the 3d of March, 1797, in which, after giving an account of the original publication of the letters, and his silence concerning them, hitherto, he said: "As I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty that I owe to myself, to my country, and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited; and to add my solemn declaration that the letters herein described are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them until they appeared in print."



## CHAPTER IV.

JOHN ADAMS, PRESIDENT—PRIDE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—RECEPTION OF MONROE IN FRANCE—REFUSAL TO RECEIVE AN AMERICAN MINISTER—A SAVAGE DECREE—DOINGS OF CONGRESS—AFFAIRS IN EUROPE—TREATMENT OF AMERICAN ENVOYS BY THE FRENCH DIRECTORY—GERRY AND TALLEYRAND—WAR-SPIRIT IN THE UNITED STATES—BONAPARTE IN THE EAST—NEW ENVOYS TO FRANCE—A CONSPIRACY—BONAPARTE MADE FIRST CONSUL—SETTLEMENT OF DIFFICULTIES—WAR ON THE OCEAN—OUTRAGE BY A BRITISH NAVAL COMMANDER—AMERICAN VICTORIES ON THE SEA—DOWNFALL OF THE FEDERAL PARTY—DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS took the chair as chief magistrate of the republic, in the spring of 1797, with a powerful, energetic, and disappointed political party in opposition. They lacked only two votes in the electoral college of giving the office to Adams's democratic rival, Thomas Jefferson, who became Vice-President. It was well for Jefferson's peace of mind and his public reputation that he was not elected President at that time, for he could not have satisfied the expectations of the ultra French faction which had gathered around him, and been true to his moral and patriotic convictions of duty to his country.

The French Directory, composed of five persons who had been installed executive rulers of France late in 1795, and who were supported by two legislative chambers known respectively as the *Council of Ancients* (the Senate) and *Council of Five Hundred* (the popular Assembly), were then feeling strong and proud, and were treating other governments with great insolence. The victories of the French armies, led by the rising young Napoleon Bonaparte, had given them Northern Italy. They were preparing for an invasion of Ireland with a fair prospect of success (for Irishmen were waiting to join the invaders against the English), and their corsairs were depredating with impunity upon American commerce. In the plenitude of their pride, when they heard that the people of the United States, refusing to bow to their dictation, had probably elected the opponent of their friend, Mr. Jefferson, they declared that until our government had redressed some alleged grievances of which they complained, no minister of our republic should be received by them.

James Monroe, a senator from Virginia, who had been sent to France

as minister, in 1794, remained as such after the installation of the Directory. He had been received in a most theatrical manner, as he was properly regarded as the representative of the ultra sympathizers with the French revolutionists, in America. At a public reception in the French National Convention, he read an address written in the style of the missives issued by the American Democratic Societies, to which an enthusiastic member of the Convention replied in a grandiloquent manner, and closed his oration with the following words: "To-day, the sovereign people themselves, by the organ of their faithful representatives, receive you; and you see the tenderness, the effusion of soul, that accompanies this simple and touching ceremony; I am impatient to give you the fraternal embrace, which I am ordered to give in the name of the French people. Come and receive it in the name of the American people, and let this spectacle complete the annihilation of an impious coalition of tyrants." Then Monroe, according to precedent, stepped forward and received and returned the fraternal and national embrace and kiss of the representative of the French people.

Having opposed Jay's treaty at the French republican court, Monroe was recalled by his government in 1796, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina was appointed to fill his place. On Pinckney's arrival in France late in the year with the letter of recall and his own credentials as minister, the Directory refused to receive him. Not only so, but after treating him with great discourtesy, the Directory peremptorily ordered him to leave France. He withdrew to Holland in February, 1797, and there awaited further orders from home. When Mr. Adams took the Presidential chair, the United States were without a diplomatic agent in France.

Disappointed by the failure of the "French party" to elect Mr. Jefferson President of our republic, the insolent Directory, after hearing of the result in the electoral colleges, determined to punish a people who dared to thwart their plans. In May, 1797, they issued a decree which was tantamount to a declaration of war against the United States. It not only authorized the capture of American vessels under certain conditions, but declared that any American found on board of a hostile ship, though placed there without his consent, by impressment, should be hanged as a pirate. The poor American seaman was then continually exposed to impressment into the British service, and by this decree, if found there, he would be subjected to a pirate's fate, by the French! Strangely as it seems, Joel Barlow, an American Democrat who had actively sympathized with the French Jacobins, wrote concerning this savage decree to a relative in this country: "The government here is determined to fleece you to a sufficient degree to bring you to your feeling in the only nerve in which your sensibility lies,

which is your pecuniary interest." At a Jacobin festival at Hamburgh, in 1793, Barlow had presented a song that was sung with great glee, written by Thelwall, an Englishman, to the air of *God Save the King*, the first stanza of which reads :

" God save the guillotine !  
Till England's king and queen  
Her power shall prove ;  
Till each anointed knob,  
Affords a clipping job,  
Let no rude halter rob  
The guillotine."

Almost simultaneously with the issuing of the French decree, an extraordinary session of Congress, called by President Adams to consider the foreign relations of our government, met at Philadelphia. The conduct of the Directory had produced a great revulsion in public feeling in our country. The reaction strengthened the Executive arm and the administration party, and patriotic Democrats began to talk complacently of war with France, which then seemed inevitable. But a majority of the cabinet favored further attempts at negotiations; and the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, appointed John Marshall, a Federalist and afterward Chief Justice of the United States, and Elbridge Gerry, a Democrat and afterward Vice-President of the republic, envoys extraordinary to join Mr. Pinckney and attempt to settle all matters in dispute between the two governments, by diplomacy. After a session of little more than six weeks, Congress adjourned. They had provided for calling out eighty thousand militia, creating a small naval force, and acts for preventing privateering.

In the meantime success had waited on French arms and French diplomacy almost everywhere. Bonaparte, who was making his victorious marches toward the Danube and the Carpathian Mountains, had compelled Austria to make peace with his government; and England, the most powerful of the enemies of France, seemed to be tottering to its fall, for the suspension of specie payment by the Bank of England had rudely shaken and weakened her financial power. It was at this flood-tide of the military and diplomatic conquests of France in October, 1797, that the American envoys reached that country and sought an audience with the French Directory. Their request was met by a haughty refusal, unless the envoys would agree to the humiliating terms of first paying into the exhausted French treasury a large sum of money in the form of a loan; by the purchase of Dutch bonds wrung from that nation by the French, and a bribe to the amount of \$240,000 for the private use of the five members of the French



Directory! This proposition came semi-officially from Talleyrand, one of the most expert and unscrupulous political trimmers that ever lived. It was accompanied by a covert threat, that if the proposition was not complied with, the envoys might be ordered to leave France in twenty-four hours, and the coasts of the United States be ravaged by French frigates sent from St. Domingo. The envoys refused compliance, and the occasion gave Pinckney the opportunity to utter in substance the noble words: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." Finding their mission to be useless, the envoys asked for their passports. They were given to the two Federal envoys under circumstances which amounted to their virtual expulsion from the country, while Gerry was induced to remain. He, too, was soon treated with so much insolence and contempt by Talleyrand and his associates, that he returned home in disgust to meet the indignation of his countrymen for consenting to remain. Gerry had held interviews with Talleyrand without the knowledge of his associates, and it was believed that his representation of the strength of the "French party" in the United States encouraged that minister to pursue the course he did.

Meanwhile the Directory had issued another decree, which effectually annihilated American commerce in European waters. This act, the indecent treatment of the envoys and the continued depredations of the French cruisers, aroused a vehement war-spirit in the United States. President Adams, in his first annual message to Congress (November 23, 1797), recommended preparations for war. Some of the more radical of the opposition leaders advised the payment of the money demanded, rather than risk a war with France—better to purchase peace by paying tribute than to contend for the right and for national independence! But the great body of the nation acted patriotically. In March, 1798, the President, in a special message, asked Congress to provide means for war. The request was promptly complied with. A provisional army of twenty thousand regular soldiers was voted, and provision was made for the employment of volunteers as well as militia; and then were made those provisions for a national navy already alluded to. The office of Secretary of the Navy was created, and Benjamin Stodert of the District of Columbia was the first to enter the cabinet as the head of the Navy Department, which he did at the close of April, 1798. Party-spirit disappeared in the National Legislature to a great degree, and the popular excitement against the opposition leaders in Congress became so intense, that some of the most obnoxious of them from Virginia sought personal safety in flight, under the pretence of needed attention to their private affairs. The younger republicans wore black cockades upon their hats, in imitation of the patriots of the Revolution. The stirring songs

*Hail Columbia* and *Adams and Liberty*, the former written by Joseph Hopkinson and the latter by Robert Treat Paine, were now first published, and were sung all over the land with unbounded applause.

Washington approved the war-measures of the government, and in July he was appointed by the President commander-in-chief of all the forces raised and to be raised, with the commission of lieutenant-general. That



WASHINGTON RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION.

commission was borne to Mount Vernon by the Secretary of War (Mr. McHenry) in person. When he arrived, Washington was in the fields not far from the mansion where his people were gathering his grain-harvest. The Secretary, without doffing his thin traveling cloak (for the day was cool), went out to meet him and presented the document to Washington in the open field. The Beloved Patriot, then sixty-six years of age, obeyed the

call of his countrymen with alacrity. "You may command me without reserve," he wrote to the President, qualifying his remark with an expressed desire that he should not be called into active service until the public need should demand it, and requesting the appointment of his friend Alexander Hamilton, then forty-one years of age, as acting general-in-chief. For this purpose, Hamilton was commissioned the first major-general. Washington held a conference with all the general officers of the army at Philadelphia, in November (1798), when arrangements were made for a complete organization of the regular forces on a war-footing. But from the beginning he believed that the gathering clouds, portending a fearful tempest, would pass away and leave his country unscathed by the lightning and the hail of war.

Events soon justified Washington's faith. Circumstances speedily allayed the fear of England, to whom the Americans looked as a possible friend in the event of a war with France. The victorious Bonaparte, who had threatened England with invasion, had gone off to Egypt with a fleet and army with the avowed object of conquering that country, invading Palestine, taking possession of Jerusalem, restoring the Jews to their ancient heritage, and rebuilding the Temple. This was only a cover to his ambitious designs for accomplishing his personal advancement. But his fleet was utterly vanquished by Nelson in the battle of the Nile; and another French fleet, that hovered off the coast of Ireland to encourage an insurrection there, was scattered by English ships-of-war under Admiral Warren. These and minor victories by the English humbled the pride of the Directory; and when there appeared omens of other disasters to their cause in Europe, and they heard of the prevailing war-spirit in the United States and the appointment of Washington to the command of a provisional army, the Directory paused in their mad career. The wily Talleyrand, ever ready to change his political coat, caused information to reach the United States government that the Directory were ready to receive advances from the former for entering into negotiations.

Without consulting his cabinet or the national dignity, President Adams nominated William Vance Murray, then the representative of the United States at the Hague, as minister plenipotentiary to France. Congress and the people were amazed, and the Senate determined not to confirm the nomination. No direct communication had been received from the Directory, and this advance after unatoned insults, seemed like cowardly cringing before a half-relenting tyrant. The President stoutly persisted for awhile, when he consented to the appointment of three envoys extraordinary, of which Mr. Murray should be one, to settle all disputes between the two governments. For this purpose Oliver Ellsworth and William R. Davie were

appointed to join Mr. Murray, but they were not to proceed to Europe until assurances should be received from France of their courteous reception there. Such assurances came from Talleyrand, and in November, 1799, the two envoys sailed for France.

Fortunately for all parties concerned, a change occurred in the government of France in the month when the envoys departed from our shores. For a long time the quarrels of factions had threatened France with anarchy. The Directory had become unpopular, and the excitable people were ripe for revolution. The brothers of Bonaparte informed him of this state of affairs at home, and he hastened from the East, with a few followers, and suddenly appeared in Paris. His brilliant exploits in the Orient had so fascinated the French, that they hailed him as the good genius of the republic. With his brother Lucien, who was then president of the *Council of Five Hundred*, and Seyes, one of the Directory and of great influence in the *Council of the Ancients*, he conspired for the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a new one.

On the morning of the 9th of November (1779), Seyes induced the *Council of Ancients* to place Bonaparte in command of the military of Paris. Then Seyes and two other members of the Directory resigned, leaving France without an Executive authority, and Bonaparte, with its strong arm—the military—firmly in his grasp. The Councils immediately perceived how they had been deceived by a trick, and assembled at St. Cloud the next morning. Bonaparte appeared at the bar of the *Ancients* to justify his conduct. Perceiving their enmity, he threatened them with military violence if they should decide against him. Meanwhile Lucien Bonaparte had read to the *Council of Five Hundred* the letter of resignation of the three Directors amid shouts from the members of “No Cromwell! no Dictator! the Constitution forever!” Bonaparte now entered that Chamber with four grenadiers and attempted to speak, but was interrupted by cries and execrations. The members appeared to be on the point of proceeding to personal violence against him, when a body of soldiers rushed in and bore him off. He was then a small, spare man, of light weight. A motion was made for his outlawry, which Lucien refused to put, but leaving the chair, he went out and made an inflammatory speech to the soldiers. At its close Murat, at the head of a body of grenadiers, entered the hall and commanded the Assembly to disperse. The members replied with shouts and execrations. The drums were ordered to be beaten, the soldiers levelled their muskets, when all but about fifty of the Council escaped by the windows. These, with the *Ancients*, passed a decree making Seyes, Bonaparte, and Ducos provisional consuls; and in December, Bonaparte was made First Consul or supreme ruler of France for life.



It was at this crisis in the political affairs of France when the American envoys reached Paris. They were cordially received by Talleyrand, by order of the First Consul, and an amicable settlement of all difficulties was soon made. A convention was signed at Paris on the 30th of September, 1800, by the American envoys and Joseph Bonaparte, C. P. E. Fluvien, and Pierre L. Rœderer, in behalf of France, which was satisfactory to both parties. The convention also made the important decision, in the face of the contrary



BONAPARTE RESCUED BY HIS SOLDIERS.

doctrine avowed and practiced by the British government, that *free ships should make free goods*. This affirmed the doctrine of Frederick the Great, enunciated fifty years before, and denied that of England in her famous "Rule" of 1756, revived in 1793. Peace was established, the envoys returned home, and the provisional army of the United States was disbanded.

While the political events just recorded were in progress, war between

the two nations actually began upon the ocean, although neither party had proclaimed hostilities. In July, 1798, the American Congress had declared the treaties between the United States and France at an end, and authorized American vessels-of-war to capture French cruisers. A marine corps was organized, and a total of thirty cruisers were provided for. Under the law for the creation of a navy, several frigates had been put in commission in 1797, but they were not ready for sea in the spring of 1798; but it was not long in the presence of impending war, before the *United States*, the *Constitution* (yet afloat), the *Constellation* and other war-vessels were out upon the ocean under such commanders as Dale, Barry, Decatur the elder, Truxton, Nicholson, and Phillips. Decatur soon captured a French corsair (April, 1798); and the British and French authorities in the West Indies were greatly surprised by the appearance of so many American cruisers in those waters in the summer and autumn of 1798. At the close of the year the American navy consisted of twenty-three vessels, with an aggregate armament of four hundred and forty-six guns.

It was at this time that the first of a series of outrages upon the flag of the republic was committed by a British naval commander, that finally aroused the people of the United States to a vindication of their honor and independence by an appeal to arms. The American cruiser *Baltimore*, Captain Phillips, in charge of a convoy of merchant vessels from Havana to Charleston, when in sight of Moro Castle fell in with a British squadron. The United States and Great Britain were then at peace, and Phillips did not expect anything from the commander of the squadron but friendship, when, to his surprise, three of the convoy were captured by the British cruisers. Phillips bore up alongside the British flag-ship to ask for an explanation, when he was informed by her commander that every man on board the *Baltimore*, who could not show a regular American protection paper, should be transferred to the British vessel. Phillips protested against the outrage; and when fifty-five of his crew were taken to the British flag-ship, he, under legal advice, surrendered his vessel with the intention of referring the matter to his government. Only five of the crew were detained by the British commander. These were impressed into the service of the royal navy, and the remainder were sent back. The *Baltimore* was released, and the British squadron sailed away with the three merchant-vessels as prizes.

This outrage—this practical application of the claims of the British government to the right of searching American vessels without leave and taking seamen from them without redress—lighted a flame of hot indignation throughout our republic. But, at that time, the American government, like

that of England, was strongly influenced, if not controlled, by the mercantile interest which had become very potential. The trade between the United States and Great Britain was rapidly increasing, and was very profitable; and the American merchants, as a body, were willing to submit to almost any insult from the "Mistress of the Seas," rather than to endanger the foundations of their prosperity by provoking hostilities with Great Britain. The American cabinet in their obsequious deference to Great Britain had actually instructed the naval commanders not to molest the



THE "CONSTITUTION" AND "L'INSURGENTE."

cruisers of any nation (the French excepted) on any account—not even to save a vessel of their own nation. The pusillanimity of this policy was now aggravated by an act of flagrant injustice and cowardice on the part of our government, that made the cheeks of true patriots crimson with shame. Captain Phillips was dismissed from the navy, without trial, because he had surrendered his vessel without making a show of resistance, and no notice was taken of the outrage by the British commander!

During the year 1799, the American navy was much strengthened by the launching and putting into commission of several new vessels. In February, the frigate *Constellation*, Commodore Truxton commanding, fell in with and captured the famous French frigate *L'Insurgente*, of 44 guns and 409 men, off the Island of Nevis, in the West Indies. The American and English press teemed with eulogies of Truxton. Many congratulatory addresses were sent to him; and the merchants of London gave him a service of silver-plate worth more than three thousand dollars, on which was

engraved a picture of the battle. For a long time a popular song called "Truxton's Victory" was sung everywhere at private and public gatherings.

Very little of importance occurred on the ocean during the remainder of that year; but at the beginning of February, 1800, Truxton, in the *Constellation*, gained a victory over the French frigate *La Vengeance*, of 54 guns and 500 men. The battle was fought on the 1st of February, off Guadeloupe. In consequence of the falling of the mainmast of the *Constellation*, the supporting shrouds of which had been cut away, the *Vengeance* escaped. For this exploit Congress gave Truxton a gold medal. *La Vengeance* would have been a rich prize. She had on board a large amount of merchandise and specie, and the governor of Guadeloupe and his family returning to France. The convention at Paris brought peace, and the navy of the United States was soon called into another field of service.

The action of President Adams in the nomination of envoys to France before official intimations from the Directory that negotiations were desirable had been received, caused very serious divisions in the Federal party. Hostile feelings, already existing, were thereby intensified, and the speedy downfall of the Federal party, as a controlling power in the government, was charged to the errors of judgment and temper on the part of Mr. Adams. He had already become unpopular because of his obstinacy and personal strictures. Very vain and egotistical, he was sensitive and jealous. His judgment was often swayed by his vivid imagination. His prejudices were violent and implacable, and his honesty and frankness, which made him almost a stranger to policy and expediency, made him very indiscreet in his expressions of opinions concerning men and measures. These characteristics made him an unfit leader of a great party. Persons who disagreed with him concerning measures of public policy, he regarded as personal enemies, and for this reason his feelings toward Hamilton were as bitter as ever were those of Jefferson. The consequence was that he was at variance with many of the leaders of the Federal party, who, regarding him as a Jonah, laid a plan to defeat his re-election to the Presidency—an event which they knew he earnestly desired should take place. The cunning Democrats fanned the flame of separation in the Federal party. Mr. Adams's political partisans succeeded in the scheme for his defeat; but they did more. They defeated the Federal party. The Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Jefferson, was elected, with Aaron Burr as Vice-President. The controlling power of that party, in the government, was then lost forever, after a most useful existence of about ten years. The odium in which Adams's administration was held was in consequence of the passage of the *Alien* and *Sedition* Laws



which he favored—laws which authorized the President to expel aliens from our country under certain conditions, and by which citizens might be punished by fine and imprisonment who might combine in opposing government measures, or who might resist the government in words, in a “false and scandalous manner.” Hamilton deprecated the laws and wrote: “Let us not establish a tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence.” He saw the danger, and wrote prophetically: “If we push things to the extreme, we shall then give to faction *body* and *solidity*.” A rhymist of the day wrote exultantly:

“The *Federalists* are down at last!  
The *Monarchists* completely cast!  
The *Aristocrats* are stripped of power—  
Storms o’er the *British faction* lower.  
Soon we Republicans shall see  
Columbia’s sons from bondage free.  
Lord! how the *Federalists* will stare  
At *Jefferson* in Adams’s chair.

In the closing month of the 18th century the inhabitants of the young republic were bereaved by the death of Washington. At his grave the hoarser croakings of the ravens of detraction were silenced, and were never heard afterward. He had led his fellow-citizens safely through the perils of war to political independence, and the equal perils of faction to the dignity of a righteous and prosperous nation.

On the 13th of December, 1799, Washington was exposed to a storm of sleet, and took cold. At three o’clock in the morning of the 14th he awoke, and found himself the victim of a severe attack of membranous croup. At daybreak, himself and Mrs. Washington being alarmed, the family physician, Dr. Craik, was sent for. In the course of the day, two other physicians were called and came. All that medical skill and affectionate devotion could do to relieve the sufferer was done, but without effect. The malady increased in intensity, and before midnight the spirit of the Beloved Patriot took its flight.

Toward evening Washington said to his friend and physician: “Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long.” Relatives of the family were sent for, but did not arrive in time to hear his last words. At six o’clock he said to Mr. Lear, his secretary, as the latter raised him up in bed: “I feel myself going; I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long.” At about ten o’clock he attempted to speak to Mr. Lear, but failed

several times. At length he audibly murmured: "I am just going. Have me decently buried; and don't let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead." Mr. Lear could not speak, but bowed his assent. Washington whispered: "Do you understand?" Mr. Lear replied, "Yes." "'Tis well," said the dying Patriot; and these were the last words that he spoke—" *'Tis well!*"

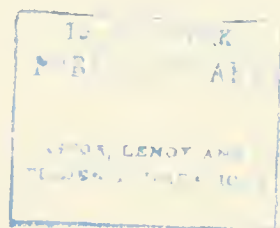
"About ten minutes before he expired," Mr. Lear afterward wrote (which was between ten and eleven o'clock), "his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine and felt his own pulse. I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He came to the bedside. The General's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hand over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh. While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was sitting at the foot of the bed, asked with a firm and collected voice, 'Is he gone?' I could not speak, but held up my hand as a signal that he was no more. 'Tis well,' she said, in the same voice; 'all's now over; I shall soon follow him; I have no more trials to pass through.'"

So departed the spirit of this great and good man whose body, thirty hours before, was in robust health, and which gave promise of a vigorous and serene old age. His attendants at that solemn hour were his wife, with whom he had lived forty-one years; his secretary, Mr. Lear; the three physicians, and his faithful colored body-servant Christopher, and equally faithful old colored woman, who was the nurse of the family. The style of the room in which he died (an upper chamber) and the bedstead of uncommon width on which rested his dying couch, are both delineated in the accompanying illustration copied from drawings from the originals by the author.

The news of Washington's death reached President Adams at Philadelphia by a special courier, on the morning of the 15th of December. John Marshall announced it to the assembled Congress that day, when a public funeral was decreed; and as the tidings went over the land, bells tolled funeral knells in solemn monotonies. When, forty days afterward, the news reached England, the flags of the great English fleet of sixty vessels lying in Torbay were lowered to half-mast; and Bonaparte, just made First Consul, ordered a funeral oration to be pronounced before himself and the civil and military authorities of France. On an appointed day, Congress went in procession to the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, where an eloquent funeral oration was delivered by General Henry Lee, a son of the "Lowland Beauty," who was the object of Washington's first love in his youth. Con-



THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.





gress also decreed the erection of a monument to his memory at the site of the new national capital on the banks of the Potomac, and asked the privilege (which was granted) of depositing his remains at the seat of the national government. That monument has not been erected, and the remains are in a vault at Mount Vernon. A cenotaph, constructed upon a plan unworthy of the subject, the nation, and the principles of taste, has been a-building many years; and Congress at its session in 1875-'76, made an appropriation for the purpose of completing it. It is in the form of a huge obelisk of white marble; and the original design called for an unsightly structure to surround its base. The obelisk has been carried up many feet already. It stands near the shore of the Potomac River within the limits of Washington city, and when completed will be conspicuous at a great distance; but it is simply a following of the barbarian custom of perpetuating the memory of their patriots and heroes by a *pile of stones*—an artistic improvement of the ancient cairn. How much more appropriate, artistic and useful, would have been the erection of a building at the National Capital, in the simple Doric style of architecture, into which might be gathered for all time the portraits, by painting or sculpture, of the men and women of the nation whom the whole people delight to honor for their great, and generous, and patriotic deeds. Such portraits, when looked upon by our young citizens, would tend to inspire them to imitate the lives of their great exemplars. Sallust says: "I have often heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other reverend persons of the Roman Commonwealth, used to say that, whenever they beheld the images of their ancestors, they felt their minds vehemently excited to virtue. It could not be the wax, nor the marble, that possessed this power; but the recollections of their great actions kindled a generous flame in their breasts, which could not be quelled till they also, by virtue, had acquired equal fame and glory."



## CHAPTER V.

SEAT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT—PRESIDENT JEFFERSON, HIS POLICY AND HIS CABINET—  
CONDITION OF THE GOVERNMENT—AFFAIRS ABROAD—DIFFICULTIES WITH THE BARBARY  
POWERS—OUR NAVY—WAR WITH THE BARBARY POWERS—GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC—PUR-  
CHASE OF LOUISIANA—EXPEDITION TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN ACROSS THE CONTINENT—BURR'S  
SCHEMES—BLENNERHASSETT—GENERAL JACKSON—BURR'S TRIAL FOR TREASON—A POWERFUL  
OPPOSITION—UNPATRIOTIC MOVEMENTS—TROUBLES WITH SPAIN AMICABLY SETTLED.

IN the summer and autumn of the year 1800, the seat of the national government was transferred from Philadelphia to the embryo city of Washington, on the banks of the Potomac and at the verge of a Maryland forest. "Woods," wrote Mrs. Adams (the wife of the President) in November, "are all you see from Baltimore until you reach the *city*, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being." Only the north wing of the capital was then finished, and the President's house was only completed externally. Mrs. Adams wrote of that as being "upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables." "If they will put me up some bells," she wrote,— "for there is not one hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain—and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased. I could content myself almost anywhere for three months; but, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it! Briesler entered into a contract with a man to supply him with wood; a small part—a few cords only—has he been able to get. Most of that was expended to dry the walls of the house before we came in, and yesterday the man told him it was impossible to procure it to be cut and carted. He has had recourse to coals, but we cannot get grates made and set. We have, indeed, come into a *new country*."

The City of Washington was laid out on a magnificent scale, in 1791, with broad avenues bearing the names of the several States of the Union radiating from the hill on which the Capitol was built, with streets intersect-

ing them in such a peculiar way, that they have ever been a puzzle to strangers. The corner-stone of the Capitol was laid by Washington, in April, 1793, with masonic ceremonies. Only the two wings were first built, and these were not completed until 1808.

The site for the city was a dreary one. At the time when the government was first seated there, only a path, leading through an alder swamp on the line of the present Pennsylvania Avenue, was the way of communication between the President's house and the Capitol. For awhile the executive and legislative officers of the government were compelled to suffer many privations there. Oliver Wolcott wrote to a friend in the fall of 1800: "There is one good tavern about forty rods from the Capitol, and several houses are built or erecting; but I don't see how the members of Congress can possibly secure lodgings unless they will consent to live like scholars in a college or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house. The only resource for such as wish to live comfortably will be found in Georgetown, three miles distant, over as bad a road in winter as the clay grounds near Hartford. . . . There are, in fact, but few houses in any one place, and most of them small, miserable huts, which present an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people are poor, and, as far as I can judge, they live like fishes, by eating each other. . . . You may look in any direction over an extent of ground nearly as large as the City of New York, without seeing a fence or any object except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. . . . There is no industry, society, or business."

Mr. Jefferson began his administration on the 4th of March, 1801, under favorable auspices. He was then in the fifty-eighth year of his age—a tall, bony man, with grizzled sandy hair, and rather sloven in dress. He affected



JEFFERSON'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

republican simplicity in all things, and sometimes carried this notion to extremes. Senator William Plummer, writing in 1802, said: "The next day after my arrival I visited the President, accompanied by some Democratic members. In a few moments after our arrival a tall, high-boned man came into the room. He was dressed, or rather undressed, in an old brown coat, red waistcoat, old corduroy small clothes much soiled, woolen hose, and slippers without heels. I thought him a servant, when General Varnum surprised me by announcing it was the President."

Mr. Jefferson indicated his policy, as follows, in a letter to Nathaniel Macon: "1. Levees are done away with. 2. The first communication to the next Congress will be, like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected. 3. The diplomatic establishment in Europe will be reduced to three ministers. 4. The compensation of collectors depends on you [Congress], and not on me. 5. The army is undergoing a chaste reformation. 6. The navy will be reduced to the legal establishment by the last of this month [May, 1801]. 7. Agencies in every department will be revised. 8. We shall push you to the uttermost in economizing. 9. A very early recommendation has been given to the Postmaster-General to employ no printer, foreigner, or Revolutionary Tory in any of his offices." Mr. Jefferson appointed James Madison Secretary of State; Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General. He retained Mr. Adams's Secretaries of the Treasury and Navy, until the following autumn, when Albert Gallatin, a naturalized foreigner, was appointed to the first-named office, and Robert Smith, to the second. The President early resolved to reward his political friends, when he came to "revise" the "agencies in every department." Three days after his inauguration, he wrote to Colonel Monroe: "I have firmly refused to follow the counsels of those who have desired the giving of offices to some of the Federalist leaders in order to reconcile. I have given, and will give, only to Republicans, under existing circumstances." The doctrine, ever since acted upon, that "to the victor belongs the spoils," was then practically promulgated from the fountain-head of government patronage; and with a Cabinet wholly Democratic when Congress met in December, 1800, and with the minor offices filled with his political friends, Mr. Jefferson began his Presidential career of eight years' duration. In his inaugural address, he had said: "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Federalists—we are all Republicans." Vigor and enlightened views marked his course; and even his political opponents were compelled to confess his forecast and sound judgment in regard to the national policy.



The machinery of the government was now adjusted to an easy-working condition. The treasury was never so full nor the revenue so abundant; and Jefferson was enabled to signalize his accession to office by the repeal of the Excise Law and other obnoxious acts. There were omens of peace abroad, and these promised calmness and prosperity at home. Bonaparte had, in the space of about ten years, as First Consul, brought nearly all Europe trembling at his feet. The old thrones shook in his presence, and when he whispered peace, the nations listened eagerly. The geographical lines of dominions, on the map of Europe, had been changed by his conquests. Only England now remained an armed opponent of the Corsican ruler of France, for by treaties and otherwise, he had conciliated the others; and because of her mischievous doctrines, practically enforced, concerning the freedom of neutrals, the Armed Neutrality of 1780 was revived. Bonaparte threatened her island domain with invasion, and the tramp of a conquering army on the soil of her East India possessions; England arose in her might and defied Europe, and her ships continued to be seen

"Riding without a rival on the sea."

The insolence of the North African pirates now became unbearable, and the United States resolved to cease paying tribute to the Barbary Powers. Captain Bainbridge had been sent, in 1800, in the frigate *George Washington*, to pay the usual tribute to the Dey of Algiers, and had been treated with cruel insolence by that ruler. After performing the errand courteously, and when he was about to leave, the Dey commanded Bainbridge to carry an Algerian ambassador to the Court of the Sultan at Constantinople. Bainbridge politely refused compliance, when the haughty governor said: "You pay me tribute, by which you become my slave, and therefore I have a right to order you as I think proper." Bainbridge could not sail out of the harbor of Algiers without the permission of the vigilant guns of the castle, and was compelled to yield. He bore the swarthy ambassador to the Golden Horn, when the Sultan saw our starry-flag for the first time. He had never heard of the United States of America. His own flag was garnished with a *crescent*, and he considered it a favorable omen for a flag bearing the *stars* of heaven to enter the waters of the seat of the Moslem Empire.

Bainbridge was granted a *firman* to protect him from further insolence from the Barbary rulers, and he used it efficiently. When he returned to Algiers, he was ordered by the Dey to go on another errand to Constantinople, when the captain peremptorily refused. The African, enraged, sprang from his seat, and threatening Bainbridge with personal injury, ordered his attendants to seize him. Bainbridge quietly produced the *fir-*

man, when the lion became like a lamb. The Dey obsequiously offered the man whom he had just regarded as his slave, his friendship and service. Bainbridge, assuming the air of a dictator, demanded the instant release of the French consul and fifty or sixty of his own countrymen, whom the Dey had imprisoned, and they were borne away in the *Washington* in triumph. Then he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy: "I hope I shall never again be sent to Algiers with tribute, unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon."

When news of these proceedings reached the United States, it excited much indignation. The navy, the strong right-arm of the government, which had enabled commerce, under its protection, to sell to foreign nations during the difficulties with France, the surplus products of our republic to the amount of \$200,000,000, and to import sufficient to yield a revenue to the government of more than \$23,000,000, was then paralyzed by the exercise of unwise economy on the part of the government, which had authorized the sale of all the naval vessels excepting thirteen frigates. Yet these were decreed sufficient to meet the immediate demands for the protection of American commerce in the Mediterranean Sea.

In the spring of 1801, President Jefferson, in anticipation of trouble with the Barbary powers, ordered Commodore Dale to go with a squadron, composed of the frigates *President*, *Philadelphia*, *Essex* and *Enterprise*, to cruise off the North African coasts. Dale reached Gibraltar on the first of July, and found that Tripoli had lately declared war against the United States, and its corsairs were out upon the sea. His presence effectually restrained the pirates, and made them quite circumspect. The next year a larger squadron, composed of the frigates *Chesapeake*, *Constitution*, *New York*, *John Adams*, *Adams*, and *Enterprise*, commanded by Commodore Richard V. Morris, were sent to the same waters, one after another, from February to September. The harbor of Tripoli was blockaded in May, and not long afterward the *Chesapeake*, Lieutenant Chauncey acting-captain, had a severe fight with a flotilla of Tripolitan gun-boats. These, as well as some cavalry on shore, were severely handled by this frigate. Finally, in 1803, the whole squadron appeared off the coasts of the Barbary powers, and effectually protected American commerce from the corsairs, for awhile. But Morris's cruise was not regarded as an efficient one. A court of inquiry decided that he had not "discovered due diligence and activity in annoying the enemy," and the President dismissed him from the service, without trial.

In August, 1803, Commodore Preble, in command of a squadron, sailed for the Mediterranean in the frigate *Constitution*. After settling some difficulties with the Emperor of Morocco, whose corsairs were on the sea, he

appeared with his vessels before the harbor of Tripoli, where a serious disaster occurred. The frigate *Philadelphia*, commanded by Captain Bainbridge, while reconnoitering the harbor, struck a rock and was captured by the Tripolitans. Her officers were made prisoners-of-war, and her crew were made slaves. When the news reached Preble at Malta, a plan was devised



DECATUR BOARDING THE "PHILADELPHIA."

for the destruction of the *Philadelphia* before her captors could make her ready for sea. Lieutenant Decatur, with seventy-four volunteers—ardent and gallant young men like himself—sailed from Syracuse in a small vessel called a "ketch," named the *Intrepid*. She entered the harbor of Tripoli on the evening of the 3d of February, 1804, in the disguise of a vessel in distress, and was moored alongside the *Philadelphia*. Decatur and his men were concealed below, when suddenly they burst from the hatches like a destructive flame, leaped on board the *Philadelphia*, and after a desperate fight, killed or drove into the sea her turbaned occupants. Then they set her on fire and escaped by the light, under cover of a heavy cannonade from the

American squadron, and followed by shots from the castle, vessels at anchor in the harbor, and batteries on shore. Yet not one of Decatur's men was harmed. Before a favoring breeze they sailed to Syracuse, where they were greeted with joy by the American squadron there. The scene of the burning vessel was magnificent. As the guns of the *Philadelphia* were heated, they were discharged, giving a grand *feu de joie* for the victory.

This bold act alarmed the Bashaw, and subsequent events made him very discreet. In August following, Preble, with his squadron, opened a heavy bombardment upon his town, castle, shore-batteries, and flotilla of gun-boats, no less than four times, between the 3d and the 28th. In one of these engagements Decatur again distinguished himself. In command of a gun-boat, he laid her alongside one of the largest of the Tripolitan vessels, boarded her, and made her a prize. Then he boarded another, when he had a desperate personal encounter with her powerful captain. The struggle was brief but fearful. Decatur killed his antagonist, and the vessel was captured. Finally, on the 28th of August, Preble, with his flag-ship, the *Constitution*, entered the harbor, when her great guns opened a heavy fire upon the town, the castle, the batteries on shore and the camps of twenty-five thousand land troops, and the flotilla in the harbor. She silenced the Tripolitan guns, sunk a Tunisian vessel-of-war, damaged a Spanish one, severely bruised the enemy's galleys and gun-boats, and then withdrew without a man hurt.

Another attack was made on the 2d of September. On that night—a very dark one—the *Intrepid*, which had been converted into a floating mine—an immense torpedo—with one hundred barrels of gunpowder below her deck, and a large quantity of shot, shell, and irregular pieces of iron lying over them, went into the harbor under the general direction of Captain Somers, to scatter destruction among the vessels of the enemy. She was towed in by two boats, with brave crews, in which it was expected all would escape, after firing combustibles on board of her. All hearts in the American squadron followed the *Intrepid* as she disappeared in the gloom. Suddenly a lurid flame, like that from a volcano, shot up from the bosom of the harbor, and lighted with its horrid glare the town, castle, batteries, ships, camps, and surrounding hills. It was followed by an explosion that shook the earth and sea, and flaming masts and sails and fiery bombs rained upon the waters for a moment, when darkness more profound settled upon the scene. The safety-boats were anxiously watched for until the dawn. They never returned, and no man of that perilous expedition was heard of afterward. Their names are inscribed upon a monument erected to the memory of these brave men, and the event, that stands at the western front of the Capitol at Washington city. Hostilities on the Barbary coast now ceased



for the season. Preble was relieved by Commodore Samuel Barron, and early in 1805 he returned home, and received the homage of the nation's gratitude.

While Barron's ships blockaded Tripoli, an important land movement against that province was undertaken, under the general management of William Eaton, American consul at Tunis. The reigning Bashaw of Tripoli was an usurper, who had murdered his father and taken the seat of power from his brother, Hamet Caramalli. The latter had fled to Egypt. A plan was concerted between him and General Eaton for the restoration of his rights. The latter acted under the sanction of his government. Eaton went to Egypt, and at the beginning of March he left Alexandria, accompanied by Hamet and his followers, some Egyptian soldiers, and seventy United States seamen. They made a march of a thousand miles across the borders of the Libyan desert; and at near the close of April, in conjunction with two American vessels, they captured the Tripolitan city of Derne, on the borders of the Mediterranean Sea. They had defeated the Tripolitan forces in two battles, and were about to march on the capital when news came that the American consul-general (Tobias Lear) had made a treaty of peace with the terrified Bashaw. So ended the hopes of Hamet, and also the four years' war with Tripoli. But the ruler of Tunis was yet insolent. He was speedily humbled by Commodore Rodgers, Barron's successor, and the power of the United States was respected and feared by the half-barbarians of the north of Africa. Pope Pius the Seventh declared that the Americans had done more for Christendom against the pirates than all the powers of Europe united.

While these events were occurring on the Mediterranean and its borders, our Republic had been growing rapidly in political and moral strength, and by the expansion of its domain. During Mr. Jefferson's first term, one State (Ohio) and two Territories (Indiana and Illinois) had been formed out of the free Northwestern Territory. Ohio was organized as an independent territory in the year 1800, and in the fall of 1802, it was admitted into the Union as a State. At that time there was great excitement in the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, in consequence of a violation of the treaty made with Spain in 1795, by the governor of Louisiana, in closing the port of New Orleans against the commerce of our Republic. There was a proposition before Congress for taking forcible possession of that region, when it was ascertained that by a secret treaty Spain had retroceded Louisiana to France. Negotiations were immediately begun for the purchase of that domain from France, by the United States. Robert R. Livingston, the American minister at the court of the First Consul, found very little diffi-

culty in making a bargain with Bonaparte, for the latter wanted money and desired to injure England by strengthening her rivals. He sold that magnificent domain, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northward to the present State of Minnesota, and from the Mississippi westward toward the Pacific Ocean, for the sum of fifteen million dollars. The bargain was made in the spring of 1803, and in the fall the country, which added nine hundred thousand square miles to our territory, was taken possession of by the United States. When the bargain was closed, Bonaparte said, prophetically: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." Out of that domain have been carved some of our most opulent States and Territories.

The same year when Louisiana was bought, President Jefferson, by a confidential message to Congress, proposed the first of those peaceable conquests which have opened, and are still opening, to civilization and human industry, the vast inland regions of our continent, then unknown. He recommended an appropriation to defray the expenses of an exploring expedition across the continent from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. The appropriation was made, and an expedition was afterward organized under the control of Captains Lewis and Clarke, consisting of a little less than thirty persons. They left the western shore of the Mississippi on the 14th of May, 1804, traversed the continent between the great river and the "South Sea" of the earlier explorers, and in the course of twenty-seven months, completed their labors, by which the first reliable information was obtained respecting the vast country which they had penetrated and passed through.

The Spaniards did not like the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. The Spanish minister at Washington protested against the bargain. Questions concerning the true boundaries of the territory were raised. The Spaniards were disposed to hold all the country east of the Mississippi, and so retain New Orleans. This disposition aroused the resentment of the people of the West against the occupants of the Lower Mississippi Valley, and our government was disposed to assert its rights by force of arms, if necessary. Regular troops under General Wilkinson, and militia from Tennessee, assembled at Natchez as a sort of army of observation. But a peaceful transfer of the domain was made. The boundaries were defined, and the Spaniards were left in possession of the country along the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean, east of a line nearly corresponding with the present boundary between Louisiana and Mississippi, on the Pearl River, and south of the thirty-first degree of latitude. It was known as the Floridas.

The country was agitated by stirring events in the region beyond the



EMIGRATION TO THE WESTERN COUNTRY.





Alleghanies in 1805, and for a year or two afterward. The fertile valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi were rapidly filling with adventurers and settlers, and materials for new States, sufficient to make an empire, were rapidly gathering. The stream of navigation was flowing full from the east, down the western slopes of the great hills. Michigan was erected into a Territory that year (1805); and all along the Mississippi, settlements were taking deep



EMIGRATION TO THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

root and flourishing. These were generally composed of hardy and venturesome men and women ready for any honorable enterprise that promised gain.

At that time there was a prevailing opinion in our country that the Spanish inhabitants in Louisiana would not quietly submit to the rule of our government. Taking advantage of this belief, and the restless spirits of the inhabitants who were forming States in the Great Valley, Aaron Burr, an ardent politician and expert and unscrupulous intriguer, who had been Vice-President of the United States during Jefferson's first term, thought he saw an opportunity to make circumstances subservient to his own ambitious

views. In the summer of 1804, he had murdered General Hamilton in a duel, and became an outcast from society. He was tolerated only by his political party, and was not renominated with Mr. Jefferson. Smarting under the stings of neglect and the "good man's contumely," he was ready to attempt the execution of any scheme that promised a retrieval of his fame and fortune. He seems to have contemplated one in which the fortunes of the inhabitants west of the mountains were involved, but what it was exactly will never be made known, for the chief actors are dead and have "left no sign." It was thought that he intended to dis sever the Union, and set up an independent republic in the West with himself at the head. Others have believed that his scheme was to organize a strong military force in the West, and with it to invade Mexico, wrest that country from Spain, and set up an independent government there with himself at the head, either as president or monarch. It is certain that General Wilkinson, who was in command of United States troops in the West at that time, was associated with Burr for awhile in his schemes, whatever they may have been.

In the spring of 1805, Burr departed for the West, giving deceptive reasons for his journey. He went down the Ohio River in an open boat, and on a pleasant morning in May he appeared at the charming island home of Herman Blennerhassett, an Irish gentleman possessed of a fine education, scientific tastes, an ample fortune, and a beautiful and accomplished wife. He was seated upon an island in the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Muskingum River, not far from Marietta, where he had a beautiful and happy home, enriched with books, adorned with pictures, enlivened with music from the lips and by the skillful fingers of Mrs. Blennerhassett as she touched the harp and guitar and sang sweet airs, and made attractive to the man of science and taste by conservatories of rare plants and fine pleasure-grounds. It was the resort of persons of the best minds beyond the mountains.

Into that paradise the wily serpent crept, and repeated the story of the fall. Mrs. Blennerhassett, an ambitious woman with an enthusiastic nature, was tempted by the apple of Burr's seductive promises of wealth, power, and immortal honors, and she persuaded her husband to eat of the fruit. He placed his fortune and reputation at the disposal of that heartless demagogue, and lost both. He was driven by necessity from his lost paradise, and died in comparative poverty.

Burr, at first, gained the confidence of that stern patriot, Andrew Jackson, whom he visited at his log-dwelling at the "Hermitage," near Nashville. They corresponded for a time after Burr returned to the East in the fall of 1805, and so active were the schemer and his few partisans in the West in

1806, that a military organization was partly effected. He had overcome General Wilkinson with his wiles; and so strong was the confidence of Jackson in the integrity of Burr, that when the latter again visited the Hermitage early in the autumn of 1806, the former procured for him a public ball at Nashville, at which the tall hero, in military dress, led the little adventurer in his suit of black into the room, and introduced him to the ladies and gentlemen present. Circumstances soon afterward caused Jackson to suspect Burr's fidelity to his country, and he communicated his suspicions to Governor Claiborne at New Orleans. The national government



AARON BURR ON THE OHIO.

received similar warnings, and took measures to crush the viper in its egg. Burr's arrest was ordered, and this was accomplished in February, 1807, near Fort Stoddart, in Alabama, by Lieutenant (afterward Major-General) E. P. Gaines. Burr was taken to Richmond, in Virginia, and there tried for treason. The evidence seemed to show that his probable design was an invasion of the Mexican provinces and not a dismemberment of the Union, and he was acquitted.

With the acquisition of Louisiana, there grew up a powerful opposition to the administration, on the North and East. The idea was disseminated that the transaction was a scheme to strengthen the South, and with it the Southern Democracy, into whose hands the control of the government had fallen. In past times the prescription of disunion as a remedy for political evils had been a favorite one with that Democracy. The Opposition now approved it, or rather the very radical men of that party did. In the years

1803 and 1804, desires for a disseverance from the South were freely expressed in the States east and north of the Potomac and Susquehanna. A convention of leading Federalists to consult upon the measure, was called at Boston in 1804, to which Alexander Hamilton was invited ; but his emphatic condemnation of such an unpatriotic course, only a short time before his death, disconcerted the leaders and dissipated their schemes. In the New York State Senate, in 1809, DeWitt Clinton, alluding to this act of Hamilton, said : "To his honor be it spoken, it was rejected by him with abhorrence and disdain."

At about the time when Burr conceived his schemes, trouble between Spain and the United States had occurred, and, for awhile, threatened to kindle a flame of war between the two governments. The United States had preferred a claim against Spain for indemnity for spoliations committed against the commerce of our country by Spanish cruisers under their own and the French flags. The liability on the part of those under the Spanish flag was admitted, and by an agreement negotiated in 1802, a commission to adjust the claims was authorized ; but the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, and questions growing out of that act, and claims to a portion of Florida, seemed to indicate a determination on the part of our government to take that portion of the Spanish domain by force of arms, if necessary. Spain, highly offended, refused to carry out the agreement concerning indemnity, and, for awhile, the political firmament appeared very lowering. But, as we have observed, the boundaries were amicably settled by satisfactory definitions, and the clouds passed away.

We must now look to events in Europe as the beginning of serious difficulties between our country and Great Britain, which finally led to war between them.





## CHAPTER VI.

NAPOLEON EMPEROR—ENGLAND AND FRANCE—BRITISH JEALOUSY—THE RULE OF 1756—DEPRE-  
DATIONS ON AMERICAN COMMERCE—NON-IMPORTATION—ORDERS IN COUNCIL AND DECREES  
—THE “CHESAPEAKE” AND “LEOPARD”—ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—  
FURTHER ORDERS AND DECREES—DESTRUCTION OF COMMERCE—EMBARGO ACT—TRIBUTE  
TO GREAT BRITAIN DEMANDED—OPPOSITION TO THE EMBARGO—A DUEL—PRESIDENT MADI-  
SON—THE AMERICANS DECEIVED—PERFIDY OF NAPOLEON—“PRESIDENT” AND “LITTLE  
BELT”—THE TWO NAVYS—TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS—BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

THE First Consul of France had procured his election to a seat on an imperial throne, in the spring of 1804; and on the 2d of December following, he appeared before the altar of the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he was consecrated “The High and Mighty Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French.” In 1806 he was monarch of Italy and his three brothers were made ruling sovereigns. Then he was upon the full tide of successful domination, and a large part of continental Europe was prostrate at his feet. England had joined the continental powers against him in 1803, in order to crush out the Democratic revolution which had occurred in France, and threatened the peace of the United Kingdom; and the British navy had almost destroyed the French power on the sea. At the same time American shipping enjoyed the privilege of free intercourse between the ports of England and France, and pursued a very profitable carrying trade which unforeseen circumstances soon destroyed.

The envious shipping-merchants of Great Britain, and her navy officers and privateersmen who could then obtain very few prizes lawfully, represented to their government that the Americans, under the guise of neutrality, were secretly aiding the French. This hint caused that government to revive in full force the “rule of 1756” concerning neutrals; and orders were secretly issued authorizing British cruisers to seize and British admiralty courts to condemn as prizes American vessels and their cargoes that might be captured by British cruisers.

The depredations by these cruisers upon American commerce were commenced under the most frivolous and absurd pretexts, and the most intense indignation was aroused throughout the United States. Memorials from merchants in all the seaboard towns and cities were presented to Congress.

in which the Democrats, with Mr. Jefferson (just re-elected) at their head, had an overwhelming majority. This and other grievances inflicted by the British government were discussed. Among them the alleged right of search which the British put forth, was paramount; and on the recommendation of the President, Congress, in the spring of 1806, passed an act prohibiting the importation into the United States of many of the more important manufactures of Great Britain, after the first of November following. In May William Pinckney was sent to London to join Mr. Monroe, the American minister there, in negotiating a treaty with the British government concerning the rights of neutrals, the impressment of seamen, and the right of search. A treaty was finally signed, but as it did not offer security to American vessels against the aggressions of British cruisers in searching for and carrying off seamen, the President would not lay it before the Senate.

A new difficulty now arose. In their anxiety to injure each other, the British and French governments ceased to respect the rights of other nations, and dealt heavy blows at the life of the commerce of the world. In this business Great Britain took the lead. On the 16th of May (1806) that government, by an order in council, declared the whole coast of Europe from the Elbe to Brest to be in a state of blockade. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree from Berlin on the 21st of November, in which he declared all the British islands to be in a state of blockade. This was intended as a blow against Britain's maritime supremacy, and was the beginning of the Emperor's "Continental System," designed to ruin Great Britain. The latter, by another order in council issued January, 1807, prohibited all coast trade with France. So these desperate powers played with the world's commerce in their mad efforts to injure each other. American vessels were seized by both English and French cruisers, and American commerce dwindled to a merely coast trade. Our republic lacked a competent navy to protect our commerce on the high seas; and the swarm of gun-boats (small sailing-vessels having each a cannon in the bow and stern), which Congress had authorized from time to time, were insufficient for a coast-guard.

Early in 1807, American commerce was almost swept from the sea by the operations of the "orders" and "decrees." The French had withheld the operation of the decrees for full a year, but the British cruisers had been let loose at once. This produced bitter feelings toward the government of Great Britain on the part of the Americans, and this was intensified by the haughty assertion and offensive practice of the British doctrine of the right of search for suspected deserters from the royal navy, and to carry away the suspected without hindrance. This right was claimed on the ground that a

British-born subject could never expatriate himself, and that his government might take him, wherever found, and place him in the army or navy, although, by legal process, he may have been made a citizen of another nation. This right of search and seizure had been strenuously denied and its policy strongly condemned, because American seamen might be thus forced into the British service under the false pretext that they were deserters. This had already happened. It had been proven, after thorough investigation, that since the promulgation of the British rule of 1756, a dozen years before, nearly three hundred seamen, a greater portion of them Americans, had been taken from vessels and pressed into the British service.

A crisis now approached. A small British squadron lay in American waters near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, watching some French frigates blockaded at Annapolis, in the spring of 1807. Three of the crew of one of the vessels, and one of another had deserted, and enlisted on board the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, lying at the Washington Navy Yard. The British minister made a formal demand for their surrender. Our government refused compliance, because it was ascertained that two of the men (one colored) were natives of the United States, and there was strong presumptive evidence that a third was, likewise. No more was said, but the commander of the British squadron took the matter into his own hands. The *Chesapeake*, on going to sea on the morning of the 22d of June (1807), bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Barron, was intercepted by the British frigate *Leopard*, whose commander hailed the commodore and informed him that he had a despatch for him. Unsuspicious of unfriendliness, the *Chesapeake* was laid to, when a British boat bearing a lieutenant came alongside. That officer was politely received by Barron, in his cabin, when the former presented a demand from the commander of the *Leopard* to allow the bearer to muster the crew of the *Chesapeake*, that he might select and carry away the alleged deserters. The demand was authorized by instructions received from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, at Halifax. Barron told the lieutenant that his crew should not be mustered, excepting by his own officers, when the latter withdrew and the *Chesapeake* moved on.

Barron, suspecting mischief, had caused his vessel to be prepared for action as far as possible. The *Leopard* followed, and her commander called out to the commodore through his trumpet: "Commodore Barron must be aware that the vice-admiral's commands must be obeyed." This was repeated. The *Chesapeake* kept on her way, when the *Leopard* sent two shots athwart her bows. These were followed by the remainder of the broadside that poured shot into the hull of the *Chesapeake*. The latter was unable to return the fire, for her guns had no priming-powder. Not a shot

could be returned; and after being severely bruised by repeated broadsides, she was surrendered to the assailant. Her crew was mustered by British officers; the deserters were carried away, and the *Chesapeake* was left to pursue her voyage or return. The "vice-admiral's command" had been obeyed. One of the deserters, who was a British subject, was hung at Halifax, and the three Americans were spared from the gallows only on the condition that they should re-enter the British service.

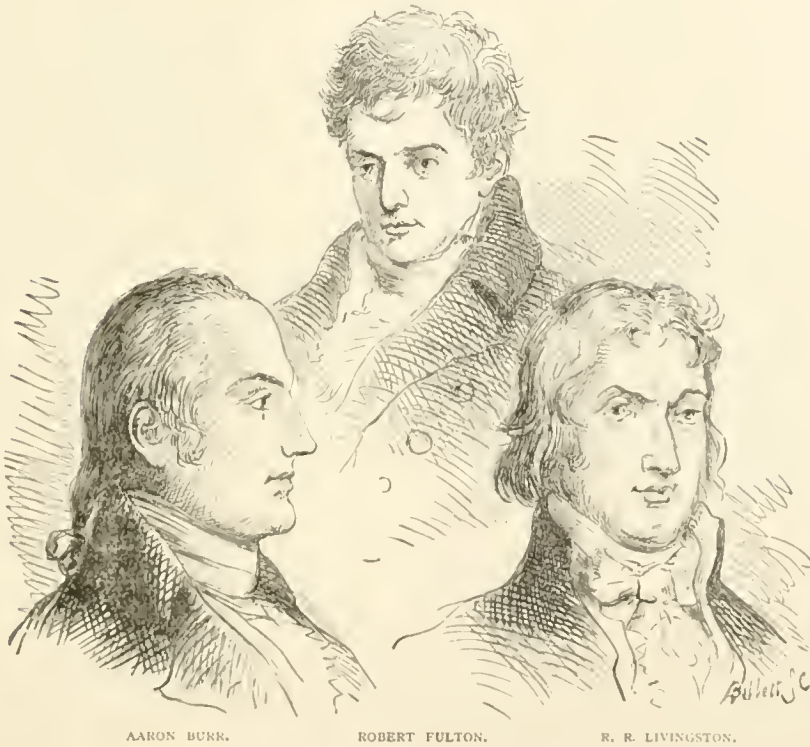
The indignation of the American people was hot because of this outrage. The President issued a proclamation at the beginning of July, ordering all British armed vessels to leave the waters of the United States, and forbidding any to enter them until ample satisfaction should be given. A demand for redress was made upon the British government, when an envoy extraordinary was sent to Washington city to settle the difficulty. He was instructed to do nothing until the President's proclamation should be withdrawn. So the matter stood for more than four years, when, in 1811, the British government disavowed the act. Meanwhile Commodore Barron had been tried on a charge of neglect of duty in not being prepared for action, found guilty, and suspended from service for five years without pay or emolument.

During the year 1807, American genius and enterprise achieved a great triumph in science and art, by the successful and permanent establishment of navigation by the power of steam. This was accomplished by Robert Fulton and Chancellor Livingston. At the beginning of September, 1807, the *Clermont*, the first steamboat built by these gentlemen, made a voyage from New York to Albany, one hundred and sixty miles, in thirty-six hours, against wind and tide; and from that time until now navigation by steam, for travel and commerce, has been steadily increasing in volume and perfection, until such vessels may now be seen on every ocean and in almost every harbor of the globe, even among the ice-pack of polar seas. This was the second of the great and beneficent achievements which have distinguished American inventors during the last eighty years. The cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney, was the first; an implement that can do the work of a thousand persons in cleaning cotton-wool of the seeds. That machine has been one of the most important aids in the accumulation of our national wealth.

Another heavy blow was struck at American commerce late in 1807. A British order in council issued on the 11th of November, forbade all neutral nations to trade with France or her allies, except upon the payment of a tribute to Great Britain. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree at Milan, in Italy, on the 17th of December, forbidding all trade with England and



her colonies, and authorizing the confiscation of any vessel found in his ports which had submitted to English search, or paid the tribute exacted. These edicts almost stopped the commercial operations of the civilized world. American foreign commerce was annihilated. The President had called Congress together at an earlier day (October 25) than usual, to consider the critical state of public affairs; and in a confidential message, he recommended that body to pass an act levying a commercial embargo. Such an



AARON BURR.

ROBERT FULTON.

R. R. LIVINGSTON.

act was passed on the 22d of December, 1807, by which all American and foreign vessels in our ports were detained and all American vessels abroad were ordered home *immediately*, that the seamen might be trained for the impending war in defence of sacred rights.

This act caused widespread distress in commercial communities, and the firmness of the government and the patriotism of the people were severely tried for more than a year, under aggravated insults by the British government which exacted tribute in a form more odious than that of the North

African robbers. In the spring of 1808, the British Parliament, with an air of condescension, passed an act permitting Americans to trade with France and her dependencies, on the condition that vessels engaged in such trade should first enter some British port, pay a transit duty, and take out a license. In other words, Great Britain said to the United States, with as much insolence as the Dey of Algiers, "Pay me tribute, and my cruisers (or corsairs) will be instructed not to plunder you."

The embargo was denounced by the opposition with great vehemence as an unwise provocative of war. Josiah Quincy, the leader of the Federalists in Congress, said in debate: "Let us once declare to the world that, before our embargo policy be abandoned, the French decrees and the British orders in council must be revoked, and we league against us whatever spirit of honor and pride exists in both those nations. . . . No nation will be easily brought to acknowledge such a dependence on another as to be made to abandon, by a withholding of intercourse, a settled line of policy." It drew from William Cullen Bryant the poet, then a lad only thirteen years of age, a sharp, satirical poem. It was called a "Terrapin policy"—the policy that would shut up the nation in its own shell—and it was caricatured as such by the pencil of Jarvis and the burin of Dr. Anderson. The wise words of Quincy were justified when he said: "A nation mistakes its relative importance and consequence in thinking that its countenance, or its intercourse, or its existence, is all important to the rest of mankind." The embargo failed to obtain from France or Great Britain the slightest acknowledgment of American rights, and it was repealed on the first day of March, 1809—three days before Mr. Jefferson left the Presidential chair to make room for James Madison, who had been elected to succeed him as chief magistrate of the republic. On the same day Congress passed an act forbidding all commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain until the "orders in council" and the "decrees" should be repealed.

In the debates on the embargo, the most violent attacks upon the administration and its supporters were sometimes indulged in, upon the floor of Congress. In this course, Barent Gardinier, of New York, was most conspicuous, making sweeping charges of corruption. His violence and abuse was such that severe personal allusion to Gardinier was elicited from Campbell of Tennessee. Gardinier challenged him to mortal combat. They met at Bladensburg, when Gardinier was severely wounded in the side, and was borne, fainting, from the field. He soon recovered; and when he reappeared in the House, he was as violent as ever.

It was at this troublous period in our history that Mr. Madison of Virginia began his administration of eight years as President of the republic,

with George Clinton of New York as Vice-President. The general aspect of national affairs then was fairly drawn (though somewhat highly-colored) in a report of a committee of the Massachusetts legislature in January, 1809, which said: "Our agriculture is discouraged; the fisheries abandoned; navigation forbidden; our commerce at home restrained, if not annihilated; our commerce abroad cut off; our navy sold, dismantled, or degraded to the service of cutters or gun-boats; the revenue extinguished; the course of justice interrupted; and the nation weakened by internal animosities and divisions, at the moment when it is unnecessarily and improvidently exposed to war with Great Britain, France, and Spain." It was believed that the new President would perpetuate the policy of Jefferson; but when, dressed in a suit of plain black cloth, he modestly pronounced his inaugural address before a multitude of eager spectators, on the 4th of March, 1809, the tone and temper of that speech fell like oil upon troubled waters. His most placable political enemies who heard him, and those who read the address, could not refrain from uttering words of approbation; and the whole nation entertained hopes that his measures might change the gloomy aspect of public affairs. He had able constitutional advisers in Robert Smith as Secretary of State; Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury; William Eustis, Secretary of War; Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, and Cæsar Rodney, Attorney-General. There was a powerful party in the nation hostile to his political creed and opposed to war with Great Britain, which then seemed to be an event in the near future.

At the beginning of his administration, Madison was assured by the British minister at Washington (Mr. Erskine) that such portions of the orders in council as affected the United States would be repealed by the 10th of June; and that a special envoy would be sent by his government to adjust all matters in dispute. Regarding these assurances as official, the event seemed like a ray of sunlight among the tempestuous clouds. The



JAMES MADISON.

President issued a proclamation on the 19th of April (1809) permitting a renewal of commercial intercourse with Great Britain from that day; but the British government disavowed Erskine's act, and in August the President, by proclamation, renewed the restrictions. This event produced intense excitement throughout our country; and had the President then proclaimed war against Great Britain, it would undoubtedly have been a popular measure.

In the spring of 1810 (March 23) Bonaparte issued a decree at Rambouillet more destructive in its consequences to American commerce than any measure yet employed. It declared forfeit every American vessel which had entered French ports since March 1, or that might thereafter enter; and authorized the sale of the same together with their cargoes, and the proceeds to be placed in the French treasury. Under this decree many American vessels were lost, for which even partial remuneration was not obtained until almost thirty years afterward. It was justified by Bonaparte by the plea that it was made in retaliation for the American decree of non-intercourse. In May following, Congress offered to resume commercial intercourse with either France or England, or both, on condition that they should repeal their obnoxious "orders" and "decrees" before the 3d of March, 1811. Napoleon, a man of expediency and not of principle, feigned compliance. He assured our government that the repeal of the decrees should take effect in November following. On this assurance the President proclaimed a resumption of commercial intercourse with France. The monarch intended to break the solemn promise at any moment when policy should so dictate. American vessels were seized by French cruisers and confiscated as freely as ever. In March, 1811, Napoleon declared the decrees of Berlin and Milan to be a part of the fundamental laws of the empire; and a new envoy sent from France gave official notice to our government, that no remuneration would be allowed for property seized and confiscated.

Great Britain not only continued her hostile orders, but sent ships-of-war to cruise off the principal ports of the United States to intercept American merchant-vessels and send them to England as lawful prizes. In this business the *Little Belt*, Captain Bingham, a British sloop-of-war, was engaged in the spring of 1811 off the coast of Virginia, where she was met on the 16th of April by the American frigate *President*, Captain Ludlow, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Rodgers. The latter hailed the commander of the sloop, asking—"What ship is that?" and received a cannon-shot in reply. "Equally determined," said Rodgers in his report, "not to be the aggressor, or suffer the flag of my country to be insulted with impunity, I gave a general order to fire." After a very brief action, Captain



Bingham, having eleven men killed and twenty-one wounded, gave a satisfactory answer. The vessels parted company, the *Little Belt* sailing for Halifax.

The conduct of both officers, in this affair, was approved by their respective governments. That of the United States and the people regarded the conduct of Captain Bingham as an outrage without palliation; and the Americans were willing to take up arms in defence of what they regarded as right, justice, and honor. They knew the strength of the British navy and the weakness of their own, yet they were willing to accept war as an alternative for submission, and to measure strength on the ocean. At that time the British navy consisted of almost *nine hundred* vessels, with an aggregate of one hundred and forty-four thousand men. The American vessels-of-war, of large size, numbered only *twelve*, with about three hundred guns. There was a large number of gun-boats, but these, as we have observed, were scarcely sufficient for a coast-guard. For a navy so weak to defy a navy so strong, seemed like madness. We must remember, however, that the royal navy was much scattered, for that government had interests to protect in various parts of the world. It was the boast of Britons that the sun never set on the dominions of their monarch.

The administration was now sustained by a larger majority of the American people than that of Jefferson had ever been, and the Federalists, or the Opposition, were in a hopeless minority. The continued acts of aggression by the British were increasing the Democratic strength every day; and in 1811, circumstances seemed to make war with Great Britain an imperative necessity for the vindication of the honor, rights, and independence of the United States.

Circumstances had made the Indian tribes on the northwestern frontiers of the United States very uneasy, and the machinations of British traders and government emissaries had stimulated the growth of that discontent into a decided hostile feeling toward the nation of Republicans, then pressing upon the dominion of the savages. The suspension of the world's commerce had diminished the amount of their traffic in furs, and the rapid extension of American settlements northward of the Ohio was narrowing their hunting-grounds and producing a rapid diminution of game. The introduction of intoxicating liquors among them by the white people had spread demoralization widely, with consequent disease and death. These savages were made to believe that all these evils had been brought upon them by the encroachments of the Americans; and in the spring of 1811, it became evident that a league was forming among the tribes for the extermination of the frontier settlers. Tecumtha, a Shawnoese chief, crafty,

intrepid, unscrupulous and cruel, and who possessed the qualities of a great leader, endeavored to emulate Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief, in the formation of an Indian confederacy in the Northwest, for making war upon the United States. He had a shrewd twin-brother, called The Prophet, whose mysterious incantations and predictions, and pretended visions and spiritual intercourse, had inspired the savage mind with great veneration for him, as a wonderful "medicine-man." He and Tecumtha possessed almost unbounded influence over the Delawares, Shawnoese, Wyandots, Miamis, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas.

So hostile had the Indians appeared in the spring of 1810, under the influence of these leaders, that General W. H. Harrison, then governor of the Territory of Indiana, invited the brothers to a council at Vincennes, in August. Tecumtha appeared with four hundred full-armed followers. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed by this demonstration of savage military power. Harrison was cool and cautious. The bearing of the chief was bold and haughty. He refused to enter the place wherein the council was to be held, saying: "Houses were built for you to hold councils in; Indians hold theirs in the open air." He then took a position under some trees in front of the house, and, unabashed by the large concourse of white people before him, he opened the business with a speech marked by great dignity and native eloquence. When he had concluded, one of the governor's aids said to him through an interpreter, as he pointed to a chair: "Your father [General Harrison] requests you to take a seat by his side." The chief drew his blanket around him, and, standing erect, said, with scornful tone: "My father! The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; on her bosom I will recline;" and then seated himself upon the ground.

The chief had declared it to be his intention to form a confederacy for the purpose of preventing any further cession of lands to the white people, and to recover what had been ceded. "Return those lands," he said, "and Tecumtha will be the friend of the Americans. He likes not the English, who are continually setting the Indians on the Americans." The governor, in reply, told him plainly that the lands had been received from other tribes, and that the Shawnoese, his people, had no business to interfere. Tecumtha sprang to his feet, cast off his blanket, and, with violent gestures, pronounced the governor's words false. He accused the United States of cheating and imposing upon the Indians; and then giving a sign to his warriors near him, they sprang to their feet, seized their war-clubs, and brandished their tomahawks. The governor started from his chair and drew his sword, while the citizens seized any weapon or missile they could find. It was a moment of great peril to the white people. A military guard of twelve men,

under some trees a short distance off, were ordered up. A friendly Indian cocked his pistol which he had loaded secretly while Tecumtha was speaking, and would have shot the chief dead. The guard were about to fire, when Harrison, perfectly cool, restrained them, and a bloody encounter was prevented. The interpreter, whom the Indians all respected, told Tecumtha



TECUMTHA AND GENERAL HARRISON.

that he was a bad man. The council was broken up. Tecumtha expressed his regret because of the violence into which his anger had betrayed him; but Harrison perceived that war with the followers of the chief and his brother was probable, and took precautions accordingly.

In the spring of 1811 the hostile savages began to roam over the Wabash region, in small parties, plundering the white settlers and friendly Indians. Harrison sent word to Tecumtha and The Prophet that these outrages must

cease, and that he was fully prepared to defend the settlers against any number of warriors which they might assemble. Tecumtha, alarmed, went to Vincennes, where he saw seven hundred well-armed militia. He made solemn assurances of friendly feelings and intentions; and then went to the tribes of the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Creeks, in the South, and tried to get them to join him in a league against the white people. Meanwhile Governor Harrison, exercising discretion given him by his government, gathered a large force from Kentucky and elsewhere, at Vincennes, and late in September (1811) marched up the Wabash Valley toward the town of The Prophet near the junction of Tippecanoe Creek and the Wabash River. On the way he built a fort near the present town of Terre Haute, which was called Fort Harrison.

At the beginning of November, the governor and his troops encamped upon a dry oak elevation, that rises about ten feet above a surrounding wet prairie, near the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash, and there he was visited by The Prophet, who proposed a conference. Harrison suspected treachery, and arranged his camp with care on the afternoon of the 6th of November, to meet any sudden emergency. He ordered that each corps forming the extreme line of the camp should hold its ground, in case of an attack, until relieved. In the event of a night attack, the cavalry were to parade, dismounted, with their pistols in their belts, and act as a reserve corps. Two captains' guards of forty-two men each were detailed to defend the camp. So prepared, the whole camp excepting the sentinels and guards, were soundly sleeping at an early hour. At the same time there had been preparations made by The Prophet for treachery and murder, when the camp of the white people should be filled with sleepers. Surrounded by his dupes, The Prophet brought out his Magic Bowl. In one hand he held a torch, in the other a string of holy beans which his followers were required to touch in token of an oath, and so be made invulnerable in battle. Then he went through a long series of incantations and mystical movements, his solitary eye (for he had lost one) rolling wildly. These ended, he turned to his seven hundred warriors, told them that the time for attacking the white man had come, and holding up the string of beans reminded them of their oath which the touch of them implied. "The white men are in your power," he said. "They sleep now, and will never wake. The Great Spirit will give light to us, and darkness to the white men. Their bullets shall not harm us; your weapons shall be always fatal." Then followed war-songs and dances, until the savages, wrought up to a perfect frenzy, rushed out to attack Harrison's camp.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, Harrison was just pulling on



his boots, when a single gun was fired by a sentinel. This was followed by horrid yells. The whole camp was soon aroused, to receive a murderous fire from the savages, who had crept up stealthily to the verge of the camp before they were discovered. A very sharp battle ensued, which lasted until daylight, when the Indians were driven away at the point of the bayonet and



THE PROPHET'S INCANTATIONS.

pursued into the wet prairie. In that battle of Tippecanoe, Harrison lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and eighty-eight men.

Tecumtha, who was really a great man, while his brother was a demagogue and a cheat, was absent in the South, at that time. On his return, he found all his plans frustrated by the folly of The Prophet. Vexed and mortified, he was compelled to abandon his schemes for a confederacy, but

became a firm and active friend of the British in the war that speedily ensued. His brother, The Prophet, lost caste with his people. Upon a gentle hill toward the Wabash, this demagogue stood on that dark and gloomy November morning, at a safe distance from danger, singing a war-song and performing some protracted religious mummeries. When he was told that his followers were falling before the bullets of the white men, he said, "Fight on ; it will soon be as I told you." When at last the warriors of many tribes—Shawnoese, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Sacs, and a few Miamis—fugitives from the battle-field, lost their faith and covered The Prophet with reproaches, he cunningly devised a lying excuse for his failure. He told them that his predictions had failed of fulfillment because, during his incantations, his wife touched the sacred vessels and broke the charm ! His followers, though superstitious in the extreme, would not accept this explanation as an excuse, and they deserted him in such large numbers, that he was compelled to take refuge with a small band of Wyandots, his town having been set on fire. The foe scattered in all directions, and hid themselves where the white man could not easily follow. A poet of the time wrote :

"Sound, sound the charge ! spur, spur the steed,  
And swift the fugitives pursue !  
'Tis vain ; rein in—your utmost speed  
Could not o'ertake the recreant crew.  
In lowland marsh, in dell or cave,  
Each Indian sought his life to save ;  
Whence, peering forth, with fear and ire,  
He saw his Prophet's town on fire."

These events, so evidently the work of British interference, aroused the spirit of the nation, and out of New England there was a general desire for war with Great Britain. The administration, impressed with the great responsibility of such a measure, and having the entire body of the New England people in opposition, hesitated.

## CHAPTER VII.

ACTION OF COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—WAR DECLARED—  
APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL OFFICERS—PROVISIONS FOR WAR—A FACTIOUS PEACE-PARTY—A

FATAL MISTAKE—BRITISH FORCE ON THE AMERICAN STATION—AFFAIRS IN THE NORTHWEST—  
MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN CANADA—CANADIAN  
MILITIA AND INDIANS—MACKINAW CAPTURED—  
AMERICANS EVACUATE CANADA—SURRENDER OF  
DETROIT—EVENTS AT CHICAGO.



THE events in the northwest aroused a war-spirit among the people of our country that could not be repressed, and only in New England did counsels for peace prevail. That the Indians were incited to make war on our frontier settlers by British emissaries was fully proven, and admitted by Tecumtha and others. The British orders in council continued to be vigorously enforced.

Insult after insult was offered to the American flag

by British cruisers; and the press of Great Britain insolently declared that the Americans "could not be kicked into a war."

Forbearance became no longer a virtue. It seemed like cowardice. The timid President Madison, finding himself the standard-bearer of his party, and like a cautious sachem surrounded by irrepressible young warriors eager for fight, felt compelled to sound a war-trumpet, though a feeble one, in his annual message at the beginning of November, 1811. The young and ardent members of the House of Representatives, who had elected Henry Clay, then thirty-four years of age, Speaker, determined that indecision should no longer mark the councils of the nation. The Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Peter B. Porter was chairman, intensified that feeling by an energetic report submitted on the 29th of November, in which, in glowing sentences, the British government was arraigned on charges of injustice, cruelty, and wrong. They said: "To sum up, in a word, the great cause of complaint against Great Britain, your committee need only say, that the United States, as a sovereign and independent power, claims the right to use the ocean, which is the common and acknowledged highway of nations, for the purposes of transporting, in their own vessels, the products of their own soils and the acquisitions of their own industry to a market in the ports of friendly nations, and to bring home, in return, such articles as their necessities or convenience may require, always regarding the rights of belligerents as defined by the established laws of nations. Great Britain, in defiance of this incontestable right, captures every American vessel bound to or returning from a port where her commerce is not favored; enslaves our seamen, and, in spite of our remonstrances, perseveres in these aggressions. To wrongs so daring in character and disgraceful in their execution, it is impossible that the people of the United States should remain indifferent. We must now tamely and quietly submit, or we must resist by those means which God has placed within our reach. . . . The sovereignty and independence of these States, purchased and sanctified by the blood of our fathers, from whom we received them, not for ourselves only, but as the inheritance of our posterity are deliberately and systematically violated. And the period has arrived when, in the opinion of your committee, it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and the resources of the country. By the aid of these, and with the blessing of God, we confidently trust we shall be able to procure that redress which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance and forbearance, in vain."

The report went over the land as rapidly as the mails of that day, in the absence of railroads, could then carry it, and made a profound impression upon the public mind. Resolutions, drawn in accordance with the spirit



of the report, were appended to it, and these elicited earnest debates. In these debates, John C. Calhoun, then less than thirty years of age, warmly engaged. It was the beginning of his long and remarkable public career. He made his maiden speech in favor of war, and charmed his listeners. John Randolph, always happy when in opposition to everybody, spoke vehemently against them. The Federalists, whose policy had always been to be prepared for war, said very little, for the resolutions recommended only such preparation. They were adopted, and bills were speedily prepared and passed for augmenting the military force of the country. Additional regulars, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, were authorized; also two major-generals and five brigadier-generals, in addition to those then in office. A million of dollars were appropriated for the purchase of arms, ammunition and stores for the army, and four hundred thousand dollars for powder, cannon, and small-arms for the navy. There was also provision made for volunteers; the whole number of the latter, with the regulars, swelling the army, in prospective, from about three thousand men of the peace establishment, to more than seventy thousand. The President was authorized to call upon the governors of States to furnish each his respective quota of one hundred thousand militia, to be held in readiness for instant service when called upon. The navy was neglected, and very little was done to increase its efficiency. It, however, weak and scorned as it was, proved to be the strong right-arm of the nation, in winning the greatest glory in the conflict that ensued.

The State legislatures generally spoke in favor of war; but the timid President, influenced by his own convictions and the opinions of his cabinet still hesitated. Finally a committee of Democratic members waited on Mr. Madison and told him plainly, in substance, that the supporters of his administration had determined upon a war with Great Britain; that the people were impatient of delay; and that unless a declaration of war should soon be made, his renomination and re-election to the Presidency would probably not be accomplished. The President consented to yield his own convictions to the will of his political friends. Accordingly, on the first of April, 1812, he sent a confidential message to Congress, proposing as a measure preliminary to a declaration of war, the passage of a law laying an embargo upon all commerce with the United States for the space of sixty days. This was done on the 4th of April. Four days afterward, Louisiana was admitted into the Union as a State.

At the end of sixty days the President sent a message to Congress in which he reviewed the difficulties with Great Britain, portrayed the aggressions of that power, and intimated the necessity of war for the maintenance

of the honor and dignity of the republic. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, when a majority of them—John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, John Smillie of Pennsylvania, John A. Harper of New Hampshire, Joseph Desha of Kentucky, and Ebenezer Seaver of Massachusetts—reported (June 3) a manifesto as the basis of a declaration of war. On the next day, a bill to that effect, drawn by Attorney-General Pinckney, in the following form, was adopted and presented by Mr. Calhoun :

“That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their Territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.”

During these proceedings Congress sat with closed doors. The bill passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 79 to 49, and the Senate by 19 to 13. It immediately became a law by receiving the signature of the President. Two days afterward—the 19th of June, 1812—Mr. Madison issued a proclamation in which he formally declared war against the offending government and people. The conflict that ensued is known in history as the *War of 1812*, and may properly be regarded as our *Second War for Independence*, for until the end of that contest the United States were only nominally free. The people, blessed with prosperity and happy in the pursuit of the arts of peace, dreaded war, and submitted to many acts of oppression and insult from Great Britain and France, rather than appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Commercially, and in a great degree socially, the people of the United States were dependent upon Europe, and especially upon England; and the latter was, at that time, rapidly acquiring a dangerous political interest here. The war began in 1775, was really only the first great step toward independence; the war begun in 1812, first thoroughly accomplished it. The chief causes for declaring war were the impressment of American seamen by the British; the blockade of French ports without adequate force to sustain the act; the orders in councils, and the incitement of the savages to hostilities.

Congress took measures immediately to sustain the declaration of war. They authorized the President to enlist 25,000 men for the regular army; accept 50,000 volunteers, and call out 100,000 militia for the defence of the

sea-coasts. They also appropriated about \$3,000,000 for the navy. But at the very outset the government encountered open and secret, manly and cowardly, opposition. The Federalists in Congress, who had opposed the war-scheme of the administration from the beginning, published an address to their constituents in which they set forth the state of the country at that time, the course of the administration and its supporters in Congress, and the reasons of the minority for opposing the war. This was fair and honorable. But outside of Congress there was a party of politicians, composed



AN AMERICAN SEAMAN FORCIBLY IMPRESSED.

of Federalists and disaffected Democrats, organized under the name of the *Peace Party*, whose object was to cast obstructions in the way of the prosecution of the war, and to compel the government, by weakening its resources and embarrassing its operations, to make peace. They tried to derange the public finances, discredit the faith of the government, prevent enlistments, and in every way to cripple the administration and bring it into discredit with the people. It was an unpatriotic and mischievous faction; and the leaders of the Federalists, like Mr. Quincy and Mr. Emott, who, when the war began, lent their aid to the government in its extremity, frowned upon these real enemies of their country. But the machinations of the Peace Party continued until the close of the war, and did infinite mischief unmingled with any good.

At that time there were very few men in our country thoroughly trained in the art of war; for the Military Academy at West Point, as it now exists,

was then in its infancy. A school to be established there had been authorized only ten years before. The elder leading officers of the Continental Army were in their graves, and the younger ones were far advanced in life; yet to the latter, alone, the government felt compelled to look for its military leaders. Henry Dearborn, who had been a meritorious New Hampshire colonel in the Continental Army, was commissioned major-general and commander-in-chief. His principal brigadiers were James Wilkinson, who was on the staff of General Gates in the conflicts near Saratoga; Wade Hampton, who had done good partisan service with Marion, Sumter, and others in South Carolina; William Hull, who had served as colonel in the old war for independence; and Joseph Bloomfield, who had been a captain in the New Jersey line.

Hull was, at that time, governor of the Territory of Michigan. The administration party, satisfied that our navy could not cope with that of the British on the ocean, based their hopes for success largely upon the supposed dissatisfaction with imperial rule, of the inhabitants of the Canadas and other British colonial possessions on our borders, who, they believed, would flock to the American standard when it should appear upon their soil. This was the fatal mistake made in 1775. Our people had not profited by the sad experience of the campaign into Canada that year; and our government resolved to begin the war by an invasion of the western portion of the Upper Province by American troops. Canada was then divided into Upper and Lower Provinces, the former extending westward from Montreal along the shores of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, to Lake Huron and the Detroit River. It included about one hundred thousand inhabitants, who were principally of the families of American Loyalists who had been compelled to abandon their homes in the States at the close of the war for independence, and had experienced the fostering care and kindness of the British government. Their loyalty was stimulated by the recollections of that kindness and by lingering resentments; and they were the last people to count upon as allies of those whom they had been taught, many of them by great suffering, to regard as enemies. This fact does not seem to have been taken into account by the administration.

When war was declared, George, Prince of Wales, was really monarch of Great Britain, for the court physicians had pronounced his father, George the Third, to be hopelessly insane. Great Britain was then waging a tremendous war against the Emperor Napoleon. Wellington was in command of the British forces on the Spanish peninsula, and Great Britain had just formed an alliance with Russia against the ambitious Corsican. Her naval armament on the American station—Halifax, Newfoundland, Jamaica, and



the Leeward Islands—then consisted of five ships-of-the-line, nineteen frigates, forty-one brigs and sixteen schooners, and some armed vessels on Lakes Ontario and Erie, with several others a-building. The British land force in Upper Canada did not exceed fifteen hundred men; the aggregate in the two provinces and the British domain on the east was about six thousand. The number of the militia of all the British-American provinces was estimated at forty thousand. They had an assailable frontier of full seventeen hundred miles.

Governor Hull, while in Washington city in the winter of 1812, heard proposals for the invasion of Western Canada. He told the President that success in such a movement might be hoped for, only by having armed vessels on Lake Erie and a competent military force in the northwest as a protection against the hostile savages over whom the British had almost unbounded control. These were showing promises of active warfare in the spring, and Governor Meigs, of Ohio, had summoned the militia of that State to rendezvous at Dayton, to meet the impending danger. Hull accepted the commission of brigadier, that he might lead the troops in defence of the people on the frontiers; and late in May he arrived at Dayton and took command of them. Surrounded by his staff and Colonels Duncan McArthur, James Findlay, and Lewis Cass, in the presence of Governor Meigs and his council, Hull made a stirring speech to the troops, and then marched with them for Detroit, through the almost trackless wilderness. While on his march with about two thousand men, he was informed of the declaration of war, not, however, before the news had reached the British posts in Canada, and his little army was placed in imminent peril. The government then gave him discretionary power for invading Canada.

General Sir Isaac Brock was then acting lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and commander-in-chief of the military forces of the provinces. He was a vigilant and energetic leader, and by his activity saved the province from disastrous invasion. Early in July, Hull felt strong enough to invade Canada, and on the 12th he crossed the Detroit River with his whole force, and encamped at Sandwich, preparatory to an attack on Fort Malden, near present Amherstburg. A British force, who were erecting a fort at Sandwich that would command that at Detroit, had, through misapprehension, withdrawn on the night of the 11th to defend Fort Malden, and the armies landed without opposition. Hull issued a stirring proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, threatening death to all who should be found fighting by the side of Indians (then gathering under Tecumtha at Malden), and offering security to the property and persons of those who should remain at home. This proclamation and the invasion produced great

despondency throughout the province, but Brock's energetic measures soon created hope and courage in the public mind and heart. He sent General Proctor to take command at Fort Malden, and establishing his own headquarters at Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara River, he summoned the militia of the peninsula between Lakes Ontario and Erie to his standard. Eight hundred responded with alacrity; and John Brant, a son of the great Mohawk chief, came with one hundred Indian warriors from the Grand River, and offered their services to Brock. Young Brant was a splendid specimen of a man, as he appeared before the British commander on that occasion. He was dressed in the white man's costume, with a large silver medal suspended upon his breast, and his head crowned with an enormous pile of white ostrich plumes.

Hull was exceedingly cautious, for he had no reliable information concerning the strength of the garrison at Fort Malden, or the movements of the British and Indians at the northward. He hesitated to move forward. His young officers, such as McArthur, Cass and others, became very impatient, and showed a mutinous spirit. By this delay in going forward, the opportunity to capture that post Malden was lost, for it was strongly reinforced by British and Indians. Meanwhile positive information came of a startling character, from the mysterious region of the upper lakes. Upon the Island of Mackinaw, a limestone rock in the bosom of the clear waters of the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, the Americans had a small fort, garrisoned by fifty-seven men under Lieutenant Hancks. The British had a fort some distance off commanded by Captain Roberts, who, informed of the declaration of war, left his post with a flotilla of boats, bateaux and Indian canoes, freighted with about three hundred regulars and Canadian militia and over seven hundred savages, and appeared before the fort on Mackinaw, on the morning of the 17th of July. Captain Roberts demanded the instant surrender of the fort, and Lieutenant Hancks, yielding to superior force, gave up the important post to the British.

With news of this disaster came information that Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, was invested by Indians. This was followed by news that British and barbarians were making their way from the head of Lake Ontario toward Detroit. The prospect presented to Hull, who knew the condition of affairs around him better than any one else, was truly appalling; and when, on the 5th of August, Major Van Horne, who had been sent down the west side of the Detroit River to escort a party approaching from Ohio with supplies for the army, was attacked by British and Indians, and after a sharp fight was defeated, the cautious commander gave orders for the invading army to recross the river and take post

behind Fort Detroit. This order surprised and disappointed the army, and drew from some of the young officers very harsh remarks concerning the imbecility and even treachery of General Hull. Sullenly that army crossed the river, and on the morning of the 8th of August it was encamped under



HULL IN FORT DETROIT.

the shelter of Fort Detroit. On the same day Colonel Miller and several hundred men were sent to accomplish what Van Horne had failed to do. They met and defeated Indians (under Tecumtha) and a small British force, near the scene of Van Horne's disaster, and were about to press forward to meet the supply party and escort them to camp, when the commander-in-chief recalled them.

General Brock had joined Proctor at Malden, where he held a conference with Tecumtha and his thousand followers on the morning of the 14th of August. His troops took possession of Sandwich, and constructed a battery there that commanded Fort Detroit and the town. At a little past noon on

the 15th he sent a note to Hull demanding the instant surrender of the post. It conveyed a covert threat that in case of refusal and its ultimate capture, the blood-thirsty savages would be let loose upon the inhabitants and the garrison. Hull was perplexed. The fort was thronged with trembling women and children, and decrepit old men who had fled to it for protection from the savages. For full two hours he kept the flag waiting while considering what he should do. His whole effective force there did not exceed a thousand men—too few to withstand the enemy in open battle, but sufficient, his officers thought, to endure a long siege, for there was an ample store of provisions. They urged him to stand firm. His pride of character and his patriotism bade him fight; his prudence and humanity bade him surrender. His officers clamored for an opportunity to show their prowess and skill, and he sent the flag back with a refusal to surrender.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the battery of five guns at Sandwich opened a cannonade and bombardment upon the fort and town, which was kept up until near midnight, and in the morning twilight of the 16th—a calm and beautiful Sabbath morning—a large body of the British and Indians crossed the river below Detroit, and soon afterward marched upon the town and fort. Soldiers outside of the fort waited impatiently for orders to fire upon the approaching foe, confident that they could repulse the invaders. They received, instead, orders to retreat into the fort. It was obeyed with reluctance; and the place was crowded to excess with exasperated men, who gave vent to their feelings in loud expressions of indignation and distrust of their commander. Some of them were mutinous at first, but were restrained by more prudent officers.

In the midst of this excitement, a cannon-ball came bounding over the wall of the fort from the Canada shore, spreading death in its path. A group standing by the door of the officers' quarters were almost annihilated. Many women and children were in the house where the officers were slain; among them General Hull's daughter and her little children. Some of the women, made senseless by fright, were carried to the bomb-proof vault for safety. The general saw the effects of the ball from a distance, and did not know but his own child was among the slain. He paced the parade backward and forward with great agitation of mind, until informed that the enemy were preparing to storm the fort; then he directed his son, Captain Hull, to hoist a white flag over the wall in token of surrender. The firing ceased, terms of capitulation were soon agreed upon; and at noon the same day, the surrender was completed.

In less than two months after the declaration of war, a strong military post, a spirited army of about two thousand men, and a magnificent territory



with all its inhabitants, were given up to the British. Hull had not asked the advice of a single man concerning a surrender, but took the whole responsibility upon his own shoulders, and bore the heavy load nearly all his life afterward. His young officers made serious charges against him. He was accused of treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty. A court-martial sentenced him to be shot, but the President of the Republic pardoned him. Truth and justice have since vindicated his character. To the neglect and



MRS. HEALD DEFENDING HERSELF.

inefficiency of his superiors—the Secretary of War and the commander-in-chief—was due chiefly the great disaster. The blundering administration—blundering in ignorance—made him a scape-goat to bear away the sins of others—a conductor to avert from their own heads the lightning of the people's wrath. The verdict of impartial history to-day acquits General Hull of all wrong in the surrender of Detroit, unless it be wrong to allow humanity to overbear expediency.

We have observed that Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, was invested by savages at the time of the trouble at Detroit. On the site of that marvelous inland city of over three hundred thousand inhabitants were then only the fort, the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie, a trader, and the huts of a few settlers. The

garrison was commanded by Captain N. Heald, assisted by Lieutenant Helm; and the young wives of both officers were inmates of the fort. The garrison and the family of Mr. Kinzie, the trader, were on friendly terms with the surrounding Indians until the spring of 1812, when the hostile feelings created by British emissaries were first made slightly manifest. One day a chief, at the fort, seeing the two young women playing at battledore, said to the interpreter: "The white chiefs' wives are amusing themselves very much; it will not be long before they will be living in our cornfields." The terrible significance of these mysterious words was made apparent a few weeks afterward.

Early in April a scalping party of Winnebagoes made a raid upon a settlement near Chicago. The inhabitants near Fort Dearborn took refuge with its garrison, and saw with anxiety the continual gathering of the Indians in the neighborhood during the summer. Finally, on the 7th of August, a friendly Pottawatomie chief arrived with a letter for Captain Heald from General Hull, telling the former of the declaration of war and the fall of Mackinaw, and ordering him, if possible, to evacuate Fort Dearborn and distribute all the United States property there among the Indians, to conciliate them. Heald was advised by the friendly Indian and by Kinzie, who knew the savage character well, not to let them know his intention to evacuate the fort by making the distribution. "Leave the fort," said the chief, "and let them distribute the property themselves; while they are doing this, you and the white people may reach Fort Wayne in safety."

Heald, contrary to the advice of everybody, resolved to obey his orders strictly. He called a council of the Indians on the 12th, and told them to come the next day and receive the property. He had such confidence in the sincerity of their professions of friendship, notwithstanding repeated warnings to beware of treachery, that he accepted their offer to escort the white people through the wilderness to Fort Wayne. That very night Black Partridge, a friendly chief, delivered to Heald a medal which had been given him by the Americans, saying he could not restrain his young men who were resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the white people, and he would no longer wear that token of friendship. The warning was unheeded. The goods were distributed the next day; and that evening the Black Partridge said to the interpreter: "Linden birds have been singing in my ears to-day; be careful on the march you are going to take." This warning, too, was unheeded.

On the morning of the 15th, the evacuation of the fort took place. There were positive indications that the savages intended to massacre the white people. When the gate of the fort was thrown open and the procession moved, it



MRS. HEALD AND THE SAVAGES AT CHICAGO.

THE  
F. C. LIEBOW

ALICE, EMMA AND  
TILDEN



was like a funeral march. The band struck up the Dead March in Saul. The wives of Heald and Helm rode by the side of their husbands. Mrs. Heald, who was a good shot, was well armed with a rifle. They had not gone far when the savage escort, five hundred strong, fell upon them. A sharp and bloody conflict ensued. Rebecca Heald deported herself bravely. She received several wounds, but, though bleeding and faint, she kept her saddle.



MRS. HELM CARRIED TO THE LAKE.

A savage raised his tomahawk to slay her, when she said, in a sweet voice in his own language, and with a half smile, "Surely you will not kill a squaw!" The appeal was effectual, and she lived until the year 1860. A stalwart young savage attempted to tomahawk Mrs. Helm, who was dismounted. She sprang to one side, received the blow on her shoulder, and at the same instant seized the savage around his neck, and endeavored to get hold of his

scalping-knife. While thus struggling, she was dragged from her antagonist by another Indian, who bore her to the shore of the lake and plunged her in, at the same time preserving her from drowning. The friendly hand that saved her, was that of the good Black Partridge. There were other cases of the grand heroism of women displayed on that bloody field. Meanwhile Heald had made terms for surrender, and the contest ended. The prisoners were distributed among their captors, and were finally reunited or restored to their friends or families. In this affair, twelve children, all the masculine civilians excepting Mr. Kinzie and his sons, and twenty-six private soldiers, were murdered. The fort was burned the next morning by the Indians.

On the spot where this massacre occurred, only about two generations ago, now stands a city whose growth is one of the marvels in the history of the progress of our country within the present century. It is at the centre of a railway system connecting the East with the West by full ten thousand miles of railroad, all tributary to Chicago; and that city, which was only the germ of a small village forty years ago, now contains more than three hundred thousand inhabitants. It is the most extensive grain mart on our continent. From it are annually shipped almost one hundred million bushels; and the commerce of that city is computed, in value, to be five hundred million dollars annually.



## CHAPTER VIII.

UNFORTUNATE MOVEMENTS—NEW ENGLAND AND GREAT BRITAIN—IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS AND THEIR EFFECTS—PATRIOTISM OF THE PEOPLE—A NEW INVASION OF CANADA CONTEMPLATED—GATHERING OF THE NEW YORK MILITIA—THE BRITISH ON THE ALERT—CONTROL OF THE LAKES SOUGHT—AN ARMISTICE AND ITS EFFECTS—TROOPS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER—BATTLE AT QUEENSTOWN—BRAVERY OF WOOL AND DEATH OF BROCK—INFLUENCE OF SCOTT—COWARDICE OF THE MILITIA—SURRENDER OF THE AMERICANS—THE MILITARY SITUATION—AMERICAN NAVAL VICTORIES ACHIEVED BY HULL, JONES, PORTER, DECATUR, AND BAINBRIDGE—PUBLIC HONORS AWARDED THE VICTORS.

THE disasters on the northwestern frontier at the very beginning of the war and the evident intention of the British to make the savages of the forest their allies in the prosecution of it, caused widespread alarm and indignation; while the opponents of the administration unpatriotically took advantage of the confusion in the public mind to cast obstacles in the way of the government in carrying on the war. The governor of Massachusetts (Caleb Strong), of New Hampshire (William Plumer), and of Connecticut (Roger Griswold), refused to allow the militia of their respective States to march to the northern frontier on the requisition of the President of the United States. They justified their course with the plea that such a requisition was unconstitutional and that the war was unnecessary. The British, meanwhile, had declared the whole American coast in a state of blockade, excepting that of the New England States.

These events justified a suspicion that prevailed for awhile that the New England States were ready and willing to leave the Union, and become a part of the British empire—a suspicion that had been created by revelations made to the President several months before, by an Irishman named John Henry, who had lived in Canada for several years. Late on a stormy night in February, 1812, Henry went to the mansion of President Madison, bearing a letter of introduction from Elbridge Gerry, then Democratic governor of Massachusetts. He said he had some secrets to divulge that were of very great importance to the people of the United States. An interview was arranged for the next evening, when Henry declared that for full two years efforts had been in progress on the part of the British authorities in Canada, sanctioned by the home government, to effect a separation of the Eastern

States from the Union, and to attach them to Great Britain. He said that he had been employed by Sir James Craig, governor-general of Canada, in 1809, as a British spy, to visit Boston and ascertain the temper of the people of New England, who, at that time, seemed to be in a state of incipient rebellion because of the passage of the embargo act. He said that at first he was satisfied the New Englanders were ripe for revolt and separation.

Henry's performances in the matter so pleased Sir James, that he promised to give the spy lucrative employment in the Colonial government; but after waiting some time for the fulfillment of that promise, Sir James died, and Henry went to England in 1811 to seek remuneration for his services from the home government. He was petted by the cabinet for a while, and introduced into the highest circles of society. He demanded £30,000 for his great services, but offered to accept of a lucrative office in Canada. At length, wearied with his importunities, and satisfied that the disaffection in New England toward the government of the United States was not more serious than a local partisan feeling, the ministry dismissed Henry politely by referring him to Sir George Prevost, Sir James Craig's successor. The exasperated spy sailed for Boston instead of Quebec, with a determination to divulge the whole secret of British perfidy to the government of the United States, for a money consideration. He laid before the President the strong documentary evidence which clearly proved that Great Britain, while indulging in the most friendly expressions toward the United States, and negotiating treaties, was secretly engaged in efforts to destroy the young republic of the West, by fomenting disaffection toward it among a portion of the people, and intriguing with disaffected politicians with an expectation, with the aid of British arms, to be able to separate New England from the Union and reannex that territory to the British dominions. Madison was so well satisfied of the importance of Henry's disclosures, at the time when he was about to declare war against Great Britain, that he gave the spy \$50,000 out of the secret service fund at his disposal, for his documents, which consisted chiefly of the correspondence of the parties to the affair in this country and in England.

These disclosures, when made public, intensified the indignation of the Americans against Great Britain. The inhabitants of New England were annoyed by the implied disparagement of the patriotism of their section of the Union. Both parties tried to make political capital out of the affair. The Democrats vehemently reiterated the charge that the Federalists were a "British party" and "disunionists," while the Opposition declared that it was only a political trick of the administration to damage their party, insure the re-election of Madison in the autumn of 1812, and to offer an



excuse for the war. The acrimony caused by these partisan feelings was at its height when the New England governors refused to send their militia to the frontier; and the British government, in declaring the blockade of the American coast, discriminated in favor of that section. That the British, mistaking partisan feeling for unpatriotic disaffection, hoped to carry out their plan for disunion, there is no doubt; but the suspicion that the New England people contemplated disunion and annexation to the British crown, had no foundation in fact.

While New England was halting in its support of the war, the people of the other portions of the Union, especially in the region beyond the Alleghany mountains, were alive with enthusiasm in favor of prosecuting it with sharp and decisive vigor. They had suffered much from the Indians under British control, and the massacre at Chicago had kindled a flame of indignation not easily to be controlled by prudence.

The government resolved to retrieve the disaster at Detroit by an invasion of Canada on the Niagara frontier. For this purpose a requisition was made upon Governor Tompkins, of New York, for the militia of that State. He was decidedly in favor of the war. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last of the Patroons and a patriotic Federalist retired from public life, was commissioned a major-general and placed in chief command of the militia. A desire to wipe out the disgrace of Hull's surrender, burned in the hearts of the people. The New York regiments were speedily filled, and a considerable force was soon concentrated at Lewiston, on the Niagara River; also at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain, to confront a possible counter-invasion from Canada. Another force was gathered at Greenbush, opposite Albany, where General Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, was stationed. Anticipating an invasion across the Niagara River, the British had gathered a considerable military force on that frontier; and at mid-autumn, before the Americans were prepared to cross the river, some of them occupied a strong position on Queenstown Heights, opposite Lewiston.

At midsummer, hostile demonstrations had been made on Lake Ontario and on the St. Lawrence frontier. Both parties were earnestly seeking the control of those waters, and the preparation of armed vessels on them was vigorously begun. General Bloomfield was in command of the militia in northern New York, and everything betokened warm work on the frontiers soon. At that juncture, General Dearborn concluded an armistice with the British commander in Canada, for a cessation of hostilities along the entire frontier, which he kept in force, contrary to commands from his government, until the close of August. By this armistice, Brock was enabled to concentrate a force on the Detroit River sufficient to compel Hull to sur-

render. To this fact and his neglect to inform Hull of his intentions are justly chargeable the chief cause of that general's disaster. It did more; it enabled Brock to bring his troops and prisoners to the Niagara frontier without molestation; and it so delayed preparations for war in New York, that on the first of September (1812) Van Rensselaer had at Lewiston only seven hundred men instead of five thousand, as he had been promised, though charged with the double duty of defending the frontier and invading Canada. At length regulars and militia arrived on the Niagara, and toward the middle of October, Van Rensselaer found himself in command of six thousand men, scattered along the river between Lewiston and Buffalo. He then resolved to invade Canada from Lewiston.

The night of the 12th of October was intensely dark. A heavy storm was just ending. In the gloom at three o'clock the next morning, Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, in command of six hundred men, was on the shore of the river at Lewiston, prepared to cross the swift-running stream and storm the British works on Queenstown Heights. But only thirteen boats were there to take the troops over, and in these he passed with less than one-half his force. The enemy were on the alert, and had discovered the movements of the Americans; and when Van Rensselaer landed, they assailed his little force with musketry and a small field-piece. This assault was responded to by a battery on Lewiston Heights, when the British turned and fled toward Queenstown. They were followed by regulars, under Captain John E. Wool (the senior in command in the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Chrystie, who was in a boat that had lost its way in the darkness and did not arrive until between eight and nine o'clock), who pushed gallantly up the hill, pressed the British back to the plateau on which Queenstown stands, fought them there, and finally gained possession of Queenstown Heights. Van Rensselaer had followed with the militia, and was so severely wounded that he was compelled to relinquish the command and recross the river. A bullet had passed through the fleshy part of both of Wool's thighs, but, unmindful of his wounds, that gallant soldier would neither leave the field nor relinquish the command until the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Chrystie between eight and nine o'clock.

General Brock was at Fort George, seven miles below Queenstown, when the firing began. He hastened to the scene of action, and with his staff pressed up the Heights to a redan battery, where they dismounted. They were suddenly startled by the crack of musketry. Wool and his followers were close upon them. Brock and his aides had not time to remount, but fled down the hill, leading their horses at full gallop and followed by the dozen men who manned the battery. In a few minutes the American flag

was waving over that little work. Brock at once placed himself at the head of some troops to drive Wool from the Heights, and at first the Americans were pressed back by overwhelming numbers, to the verge of the precipice that rises from the deep chasm of the river two hundred feet below. That little band were in great peril, when Captain Ogilvie, seeing men falling around him and the danger of being hurled into the flood below, raised a white handkerchief on the point of a bayonet in token of surrender. Wool sprang forward, snatched the token of submission, addressed a few stirring



FLIGHT OF BROCK AND HIS STAFF.

words to his men, begging them to fight as long as they had a weapon, and then waving his sword, so inspirited his comrades to a renewal of the fight that they soon made the British veterans break, and flee down the hill in confusion. These were rallied by General Brock, and were about to reascend the Heights, when their commander was mortally wounded at the foot of the declivity. After a short struggle, the British retreated a mile below Queenstown. The young commander (Wool was only twenty-four years of age), after three distinct battles, was left master of the Heights with two hundred and forty men. Not long afterward, Brigadier-General Wadsworth, of the New York militia, took the chief command.

General Sheaffe, who succeeded General Brock in command of the

British, rallied the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel (afterward Major-General) Winfield Scott, had arrived at Lewiston, and crossing the river joined the troops as a volunteer. At the request of General Wadsworth, he took active command. Early in the afternoon a cloud of dusky warriors, led by John Brandt, painted and plumed, and with gleaming tomahawks, fell upon the pickets on the American left with great fury, uttering the horrid war-whoop. The militia were about to flee, when the towering form and trumpet-toned voice of Scott, commanded their attention. He inspired the troops, now about six hundred strong, militia and regulars, to fall upon the savage assailants with a shout. The Indians turned and fled to the woods in terror. Meanwhile General Sheaffe had pressed forward, when General Van Rensselaer, who stood by the side of Scott, hastened across the river to send over reinforcements of militia. About a thousand had gone over in the morning, but few had engaged in the fight. Others now refused to go, pleading, in the language of the opponents of the war, that they were not compelled to leave the soil of their country and invade that of another. The poltroons stood idly at Lewiston, while their comrades were mown down like grass at Queenstown. Overwhelming numbers compelled the Americans to surrender, when all the prisoners were marched to Newark. There Scott had an encounter with two Indian chiefs. He met them in a hall, and was unarmed. They demanded how many bullets had passed through his clothes, as they had both fired at him repeatedly. One of the Indians attempted to turn him round rudely, when Scott thrust him away, exclaiming: "Hands off! you shot like a squaw!" Both Indians drew their knives and tomahawks, and were about to spring upon Scott, when he snatched a sword standing at the end of the hall, drew the blade from the scabbard as quick as lightning, and was about to slay his assailants, when a British officer interfered and saved them.

On that memorable day, the 13th of October, 1812, the Americans lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, about eleven hundred men. General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the inefficiency everywhere displayed, left the service, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smythe, of Virginia, who accomplished nothing of importance during the remainder of the season. The military situation of the Americans at the close of 1812, was this: The *Army of the Northwest*, as it had been named, first under Hull and then under General Harrison, was occupying a defensive position among the snows of the wilderness on the banks of the Maumee River; the *Army of the Centre*, under General Smythe, was resting on the defensive on the Niagara frontier; and the *Army of the North*, under General Bloomfield, was also resting on the defensive at Plattsburgh.



While military failures gave the opponents of the administration reasons for complaints and denunciations, the little American navy, so weak compared with that of the British, was winning honor for itself and the nation. Unmindful of this disparity, the Americans went boldly out upon the ocean in national and privately-armed vessels, and won victory after victory. When war was declared, Commodore Rodgers was off Sandy Hook, near New York, with a small squadron consisting of the frigates *President*, *Congress*, and *United States*, and the sloop-of-war *Hornet*. He put to sea two



ESCAPE OF THE "CONSTITUTION."

days after that declaration, in pursuit of a British squadron convoying the West India fleet of merchantmen to England. The *President* (Rodgers' flagship) overtook the British off Nantucket Shoals, on the 23d of June, and after a slight engagement with the *Belvidera*, and a chase of several hours, the pursuit was abandoned. The news of this affair, carried into Halifax by the *Belvidera*, produced a profound sensation there, and Rear-Admiral Sawyer sent out a squadron of war-vessels, under Captain Broke, to search for Rodgers and his frigate. Broke's flag-ship was the *Shannon*, 38. This squadron appeared near New York early in July, and captured the United States brig *Nautilus*, 14. This was the first vessel-of-war taken on either side in this contest.

The frigate *Constitution* (yet afloat), of 44-guns, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, had just returned from foreign service when war was declared, and on the 12th of July she sailed from Annapolis on a cruise to the northward. On the 17th she fell in with Broke's squadron, when one of the most

remarkable naval retreats and pursuits on record occurred. The *Constitution* was not strong enough to fight the squadron, with a hope of winning; and her safety depended upon her celerity in flight. There was almost a dead calm, and her sails flapped lazily in a zephyr-like breeze, as she floated almost independently of the helm on the slowly undulating bosom of the sea. Down went her boats with sweeps and manned by strong oarsmen. A long 18-pounder was rigged as a stern-chaser, and another of the same calibre was pointed off the forecastle. Out of her cabin-windows, where saws had made them large enough, two 24-pounders were run, and all the light cannon that would draw was set. She was just getting under headway with a gentle northwest breeze that sprung up, when the *Shannon* assailed her with shot at long range without effect. Calm and breeze succeeded each other, and sweeps and sails alternately kept the good ship moving in a manner that puzzled the pursuers.

At length the British discovered the secret power that bore the *Constitution* before them, and instantly boats with sweeps and strong men were urging onward the *Shannon*, which then slowly gained on her intended victim. The *Guerriere*, 38, Captain Dacres, another of the squadron, had joined in the chase. All day and all night the pursuit continued; and at dawn of the second day of the chase the whole British squadron were in sight, bent on capturing the American frigate. The five vessels were clouded with canvas, while expert seamanship caused the *Constitution* to make the space between her and her pursuers so wide that not a gun was fired. That afternoon she was four miles ahead of the *Belvidera*, the nearest vessel of the squadron; and at sunset a heavy squall burst in fury on the *Constitution*, but she was prepared for it. Wind, lightning, and rain made a terrible commotion on the sea, for a short time; but the gallant ship outrode the tempest, and at twilight she was flying before her pursuers at the rate of eleven knots an hour. At midnight the British fired two guns, and at dawn they gave up the chase, which had lasted sixty-four hours. The country rang with praises of Hull and the *Constitution*; and a bard of the day, singing of her exploits, said:

"'Neath Hull's command, with a tough hand,  
And naught beside to back her,  
Upon a day, as log-books say,  
A fleet bore down to whack her.

"A fleet, you know, is odds, or so,  
Against a single ship, sirs;  
So 'cross the tide her legs she tried,  
And gave the regues the slip, sirs."

Just after Rodgers left Sandy Hook, the *Essex*, 32, Captain David Porter, sailed from New York with a flag at her mast-head bearing the significant words: *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*. Soon after leaving Sandy Hook, while sailing southward, the *Essex* captured several British merchant-vessels, and made trophy bonfires of them; and on the 13th of August (1812) she



O. H. PERRY.

ISAAC HULL.  
JAMES LAWRENCE.

WM. BAINBRIDGE.

captured the British brig *Alert*, 18. This was the first British national vessel captured in the war. She encountered some others, when, believing himself cut off from Boston and New York by a British squadron, Porter ran the *Essex* into the Delaware.

The *Constitution* did not long remain idle after her remarkable escape. She sailed from Boston (where she was built) on the 2d of August, and cruised eastward in search of British vessels. Hull was anxious to meet the *Guerriere*, whose commander had boastfully enjoined the Americans to remember that she was not the *Little Belt*. Hull sailed as far as the Bay of

Fundy, and then cruised eastward of Nova Scotia, where he captured some British merchant-vessels making their way to the St. Lawrence. On the afternoon of the 19th of August, he fell in with the *Guerriere*, in latitude  $41^{\circ} 46'$ , and longitude  $55^{\circ} 48'$ . Some firing began at long range; but at six o'clock, Hull, observing a willingness of his antagonist to have a fair yard-arm and yard-arm fight, pressed all sail on the *Constitution* to get alongside of the *Guerriere*. He walked the quarter-deck, watching the movements of the enemy with keen interest. He was fat, and wore very tight white breeches. When the *Guerriere* began to pour shot into the *Constitution*, Lieutenant Morris, Hull's second in command, asked, "Shall I open fire?" The commander replied quietly, "Not yet." As the shots began to tell seriously on the *Constitution*, the question was repeated. "Not yet," Hull quietly answered. When the two vessels were very near each other, Hull, filled with intense excitement, bent himself twice to the deck and then shouted, "Now boys, pour it into them!" The command was instantly obeyed. When the smoke of the first broadside cleared away, it was discovered that the commander, in his energetic movements, had split his breeches from waistband to knee; but he did not stop to change them during the action.

The guns of the *Constitution* were double-shotted with round and grape, and their execution was terrible. The vessels were within pistol-shot of each other. Fifteen minutes after the contest commenced, the mizzen-mast of the *Guerriere* was shot away, her main-yard was in slings, and her hull, spars, sails, and rigging were torn in pieces. Very soon, by a skillful movement, the *Constitution* fell foul of her foe, her bowsprit running into the larboard quarter of her antagonist. In that situation the cabin of the *Constitution* was set on fire by the explosion of the forward guns of the *Guerriere*, but the flames were soon extinguished. Both parties now attempted to board, while the roar of the great guns was terrific. There were fierce volleys of musketry; but the heavy sea would not allow a safe passage from one vessel to the other. At length the *Constitution* became disengaged from the *Guerriere* and shot ahead, when the main-mast of the latter, shattered into weakness, fell into the sea. The hapless vessel, shivered and shorn, rolled like a log in the trough of the waves, entirely at the mercy of the billows. A jack that had been kept flying on the stump of the mizzen-mast of the *Guerriere* was now lowered; and the late Commodore George C. Read, then third lieutenant, was sent on board of her. "Captain Hull's compliments," said Read to Captain Dacres, "and wishes to know if you have struck your flag?" Dacres, who was a "jolly tar," looking up and down, coolly and dryly said: "Well, I don't know; our mizzen-mast is



gone, our main-mast is gone, and, upon the whole, you may say we *have* struck our flag." The *Guerriere* was too much damaged to be saved. So, after removing her people and their effects to the *Constitution*, she was set on fire and soon blew up. So ended the career of the vessel that was "not the *Little Belt*." A rhymer at the time wrote :

Isaac did so maul and rake her,  
That the decks of Captain Dacre  
Were in such a woful pickle  
As if death, with scythe and sickle,  
With his sling or with his shaft,  
Had cut his harvest fore and aft.  
Thus in thirty minutes ended  
Mischief that could not be mended ;  
Masts and yards, and ship descended  
All to David Jones' locker—  
Such a ship in such a pucker !

The *Constitution* bore the news of her own victory into Boston. There was a burst of joy over the land. The name of Hull was soon upon every lip. The people of Boston gave him and his officers a sumptuous public banquet, at which six hundred citizens sat. The authorities of New York voted him the freedom of that city in a gold box. The citizens of Philadelphia presented to him an elegant piece of plate ; and Congress awarded him a gold medal, and appropriated \$50,000 to be distributed as prize-money among the officers and crew of the *Constitution*. We cannot now appreciate the feeling which the victory created on both sides of the Atlantic. The British public were amazed. Their faith in the impregnability of the "wooden walls of Old England" began to waver. Its momentous bearing on the future of the war was incalculable. The Americans, no longer impressed with the idea of the omnipotence of the British navy, were stimulated to the performance of great achievements. The *London Times* regarded the victory as a serious blow at the British supremacy on the sea. "It is not merely that one English frigate has been taken," said that journal, "but that it has been taken by a *new enemy*, an enemy *unaccustomed* to such triumphs, and likely to be rendered *insolent* and confident by them."

The victory of the *Constitution* was followed by others. On the 18th of October the American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, captured the British brig *Frolic*, Captain Whinyates, after a severe engagement of forty-five minutes, off the coast of North Carolina. The slaughter on board the *Frolic* was fearful. Only three officers and one seaman remained unhurt. Ninety were killed and wounded, while only ten were slain or disabled on board the *Wasp*. But she enjoyed her victory a very short time ; for

that very afternoon, the British 74-gun ship *Poicters*, Captain Beresford, appeared, and two hours after the gallant Jones had gained his triumph, he was compelled to surrender his prize and his own ship to another of superior force. Jones was honored for his bravery, by public entertainments, and Congress gave him a gold medal. They also voted \$25,000 as prize-money for himself and his followers. Lieutenant Biddle, his second in command, was also honored with gifts and promotion.

A week after Jones' contest, the frigate *United States*, 44, Captain Stephen Decatur, of the squadron of Commodore Rodgers, gained an important naval victory after a conflict of about two hours on the ocean



CONFLICT BETWEEN THE "UNITED STATES" AND "MACEDONIAN."

westward of the Canary Islands. The vessel captured by the *United States* was the British frigate *Macedonian*, 38, Captain Carden. After a cannonade at a distance for about half an hour, they engaged in close contest. The *United States* displayed splendid gunnery. Very soon her balls cut the mizzen-mast of her antagonist, and it fell overboard. Soon afterward the main-yard of the *Macedonian* was seen hanging in two pieces, her main and fore top-masts were gone, her fore-mast was tottering, and her main-mast and bow-sprit were severely bruised. All this while the *United States* remained almost unhurt. Seeing the hopelessly crippled condition of his vessel, Carden surrendered her. She had received one hundred round shot in her hull, many of them between wind and water. Rigging her as a bark, with a prize-crew on board, Decatur sailed with his own ship and her captive for American waters; and on the first day of January, 1813, the *Macedonian* was

anchored in the harbor of New York, where she was greeted with joy as a "New Year's Gift." "She comes with the compliments of the season from Old Neptune," said one of the newspapers of that city. Only three days before a public banquet had been given to Hull, Jones, and Decatur, by the corporation and citizens of New York. Decatur afterward received honors similar to those bestowed upon his brother victors, by banquets, gifts and a gold medal from Congress.

Before the close of the year (1812) another naval victory was won that cheered the spirits of the Americans. Captain Hull had generously retired from the command of the *Constitution* after his victory, to give some brother officer a chance to win renown with her. Captain William Bainbridge was appointed his successor, and a small squadron, consisting of the *Constitution*, 44; *Essex*, 32; and *Hornet*, 18, were placed in his charge. The *Constitution* and *Hornet* were then in Boston harbor, and the *Essex* was in the Delaware. Orders were sent to the latter to cruise in the track of the English West Indiamen, and at a specified time to rendezvous at certain ports, where, if she did not fall in with the flag-ship, she would be at liberty to make an independent cruise. Not long afterward Porter was on a long cruise in the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which will be considered hereafter.

Bainbridge sailed with the two vessels from Boston, late in October, touched at the designated ports, and at the middle of December was off Bahia, Brazil. There the *Hornet* blockaded the English sloop-of-war *Bonne Citoyenne*, 18, Captain Green, which was about to sail for England with a very large amount of specie. Meanwhile the *Constitution* went on a cruise down the coast of Brazil, and on the 29th of December, when about thirty miles from land, she fell in with the British frigate *Java*, 38, Captain Lambert, one of the finest vessels of her class in the royal navy. At about two o'clock in the afternoon, they engaged in combat, which continued between two and three hours. A part of the time was consumed by efforts of each to gain an advantage of position. The *Java* tried to run down on the *Constitution's* quarter to engage in close action, but received much damage without gaining any advantage. As she turned, the *Constitution* poured a raking broadside into the stern of her enemy. This was followed by another that sent balls crashing through the *Java* with fearful effect, carrying away her jib-boom and part of her bow-sprit. Very soon the two vessels lay broadside to broadside, engaged in deadly conflict, yard-arm to yard-arm. The mizzen-mast of the *Java* soon went by the board, and nothing was left standing but her main-mast with its yard carried away. Her firing ceased, and between five and six o'clock, Captain Lambert, who was mortally wounded, ordered his colors to be hauled down. The *Java* was a wreck.

She was manned by four hundred and forty-six men and boys, and had more than one hundred passengers. After her people were all transferred to the *Constitution*, with their baggage, she was set on fire, and blew up on the 31st of December. At Bahia, Bainbridge landed and paroled his prisoners, and then sailed for the United States, where he was honored in the manner accorded to the naval heroes whose victories had lately won much glory for themselves and their country. This was the fourth brilliant victory over the British, won by the American navy in the space of five months. Praises were lavished on Bainbridge without stint. New York and Albany each gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box. The citizens of Philadelphia presented him with an elegant service of plate, and Congress voted him a gold medal, and also \$50,000 as prize-money for himself and companions. These sums were given when the prizes captured were lost at sea.

The conflict between the *Constitution* and *Java* was the closing naval engagement in the year 1812. These justified the views of the Federalists who were always in favor of a navy, and the opposition to it by the Democrats ceased. The whole American people, excepting the Peace Faction, were made jubilant; and the gloom caused by the failures of the land forces was dispelled. The British people were astounded, and their newspapers raved. A leading London journal petulantly and vulgarly gave vent to its sentiments by expressing its apprehensions that England might be stripped of her maritime supremacy "by a piece of striped bunting flying at the mast-head of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws."

The naval triumphs of the Americans were not confined to the national vessels. Privateers swarmed on the sea in the summer and autumn of 1812, and were making prizes in every direction. Accounts of their exploits filled the newspapers, and helped to swell the tide of joy throughout the Union. It is estimated that during the year 1812 more than fifty armed British vessels and two hundred and fifty merchantmen, with an aggregate of over three thousand prisoners, and a vast amount of booty, were captured by the Americans.





## CHAPTER IX.

THE NORTHERN FRONTIER—SKIRMISH AT SACKETT'S HARBOR—NAVAL FIGHT ON THE ST. LAWRENCE—CHAUNCEY ON LAKE ONTARIO—EVENTS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE AND NIAGARA FRONTIERS—A CONSPICUOUS MILITARY FAILURE—GENERAL HARRISON IN THE WEST—ENTHUSIASM OF THE PEOPLE THERE—MASSACRE AT THE RIVER RAISIN—FORT MEIGS BUILT AND BESIEGED—BRAVERY OF CAPTAIN COMBS—DUDLEY'S DEFEAT—CIVIL AFFAIRS CONSIDERED—MEDIATION OF RUSSIA OFFERED—SIEGE OF FORT STEPHENSON—THE BRITISH REPULSED—THE EFFECTS.

BUT small preparations for war had been made on the northern frontier of New York when it was declared. Brigadier-General Jacob Brown was charged with the defence of that frontier from Oswego to Lake St. Francis (an expansion of the River St. Lawrence), a distance of about two hundred miles. There was only one American war-vessel (the *Oncida*) launched in 1809, on Lake Ontario, commanded by Lieutenant Melancthon Woolsey; while the British, in anticipation of difficulties, had built at Kingston, at the foot of the lake, a small squadron of light vessels-of-war. Brown and Woolsey were authorized to defend the frontier from invasion, but not to act on the offensive except in certain emergencies.

On the 29th of July, 1812, the little British squadron, composed of the *Royal George*, 24; *Prince Regent*, 22; *Earl of Moira*, 20; *Simcoe*, 12; and *Seneca*, 4, appeared off Sackett's harbor at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The *Oncida* was in the harbor, and a considerable body of militia under Colonel Bellinger were there. The *Oncida* was laid so as to give a broadside to the approaching enemy, while an old 32-pound iron cannon, dragged up from the shore, was placed in battery on a rocky bluff in charge of Captain Vaughan, a sailing-master in the navy. A cannonade between the *Royal George* and the big guns on shore was kept up for about two hours with very little effect, when a 32-pound ball from the former came over the bluff and ploughed a furrow near where some soldiers were standing. A sergeant caught up the ball and running with it to Captain Vaughan, said, "I've been playing ball with the red-coats, and I have caught them out." Vaughan put it in his gun. It fitted better than his own balls, and he sent it crashing through the *Royal George* from stern to stem, sending splinters

as high as her mizzen top-sail yard, killing fourteen men and wounding eighteen. The squadron, alarmed, immediately sailed out of the harbor.

The command of the lakes was now an important consideration for both parties, and the Americans prepared to create a navy to cope with that of the British. The quickest way to do so was to convert merchant-schooners into vessels-of-war. Eight of these had been caught at Ogdensburg, when the declaration of war was made, and were unable to escape to the lake. Two had been burned, and six remained there. These the British deter-



SENDING BACK BRITISH BALLS.

mined to attempt to capture or destroy, and for this purpose two of their armed vessels went down the St. Lawrence immediately after the affair at Sackett's Harbor. They were followed by the American armed schooner *Julia*, with sixty volunteers from the *Oncida*, and a rifle company in a Durham boat. They overtook the British vessels among the Thousand Islands, on the 31st of July, fought them for three hours, and in the shadows of an intensely dark night, relieved occasionally by flashes of lightning, reached Ogdensburg in safety before morning. The armistice already mentioned, that followed, allowed the *Julia* and her consort and the six schooners to make their way to the lake, where the latter were converted into vessels-of-war.

At the close of August, Isaac Chauncey, one of the best practical seamen of his time, was commissioned commander-in-chief of the navy on Lakes Ontario and Erie; and the eminent ship-builder, Henry Eckford, with a

competent number of men, hastened to Sackett's Harbor to prepare a squadron for Lake Ontario. On the 8th of November, Chauncey appeared in those waters with a little fleet consisting of the armed schooners *Conquest*, *Growler*, *Pert*, *Scourge*, *Governor Tompkins*, and *Hamilton*. With these he made a cruise toward Kingston, skirmished with the enemy, and blockaded the British squadron in Kingston harbor. In this short cruise of a few days Chauncey disabled the British flag-ship *Royal George*, destroyed one armed schooner, captured three merchant-vessels, and took several prisoners. On the 12th of November, leaving vessels to blockade Kingston harbor until the ice should effectually do so, he sailed toward the western end of Lake Ontario, at the same time writing to Governor Tompkins: "I am in great hopes that I shall fall in with the *Prince Regent*, or some of the royal family which are cruising about York. Had we been one moment sooner, we could have taken every town on this lake in three weeks; but the season is now so tempestuous that I am apprehensive that we cannot do much more this winter." He returned to Sackett's Harbor, and early in December the navigation of the lake was closed by frost. Chauncey's entire squadron of eight vessels (exclusive of the *Madison*, 24, whose keel was laid before his arrival) mounted only forty guns, and were manned by four hundred and thirty men, including marines. The British squadron had double the power of that of the Americans, in weight of metal and number of men.

The land forces on the St. Lawrence frontier were not idle. Captain Benjamin Forsyth was there with a company of regular riflemen, and after performing some exploits in the vicinity of the Thousand Islands, he took post at Ogdensburg. General Brown arrived there on the 1st of October (1812), and on the same day a large flotilla of British bateaux, escorted by a gun-boat, appeared at Prescott, on the opposite side of the river. This flotilla conveyed armed men, who, on the 4th of October, attempted to cross the river and attack Ogdensburg. They were repulsed by the Americans, who, with the regulars and militia, were about fifteen hundred strong. Eighteen days afterwards, Major G. D. Young, in command of a detachment of militia (chiefly from Troy, New York, about two hundred in number and stationed at French Mills,) captured the larger portion of a British detachment at St. Regis, an Indian village, lying on the boundary line between the United States and the British dominion. The late William L. Marcy, governor of the State of New York, then a lieutenant, captured the British flag with his own hand—the first trophy of that kind taken on land in the war.

Meanwhile some stirring events had occurred on the Niagara frontier. Commodore Chauncey had sent Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott to superintend

the construction of vessels on Lake Erie. Black Rock, near Buffalo, was chosen as the place for a navy-yard. A few days before the affair at Queens-town, two British vessels anchored under shelter of the guns of Fort Erie, opposite. Elliott determined to attempt their seizure, and at midnight on the 8th of October, he crossed the river in boats with one hundred and twenty-four armed men—landsmen and seamen—and surprised and captured them both, with all their people. The expedition was now at Buffalo and Black Rock; and when the first pistol was fired, lanterns and torches sent gleams of light across the waters from the American shore, and shouts from scores of people rang out on the night air. These noises aroused every British soldier on the Canada shore, and heavy guns were brought to bear upon the assailants. There was a fierce struggle for the possession of the two captured vessels. The *Caledonia* was secured by the Americans, and afterward did good service in Perry's fleet on Lake Erie. Her consort the *Detroit* was burned.

More than a month later, British cannon were opened from five detached batteries on the Canada shore upon Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara River. From dawn until the early twilight on the 21st of November, the cannonade and bombardment were kept up, and two thousand red-hot balls, with a tempest of bombshells, were hurled upon the American works. These missiles were answered in kind. The village of Newark was set on fire several times, and the garrison at Fort George were greatly disquieted. Night ended the artillery duel. This attack aroused the pompous General Smythe, at Buffalo, to action. He made ready for invading Canada from that point, and by flaming proclamations he so advertised his intentions, that the enemy were fully prepared to meet him when he was ready to cross the river. An abortive attempt was made before daylight on the 21st of November, and another attempt was ordered to take place two days afterward. Smythe, in an order issued the day before, said: "Neither rain, snow nor frost will prevent the embarkation. . . . Yankee Doodle will be the signal to get under way. The landing will be effected in despite of cannon. . . . Hearts of War! to-morrow will be memorable in the annals of the United States!" To-morrow came, but it was memorable there only by the failure of the cowardly commander to carry out his orders. He was evidently afraid of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, who commanded a small force on the other side of the river, and the campaign ended without anything being done in the way of invasion. Smythe was dismissed from the army. In a petition to Congress to reinstate him, he asked to be permitted to "die for his country." This phrase excited much ridicule. At a public celebration of Washington's birthday at Georgetown, D. C., the



following sentiment was proposed: "General Smythe's petition to Congress to 'die for his country': May it be ordered that the prayer of said petition be granted." A wag wrote on a panel of one of the doors of the House of Representatives:

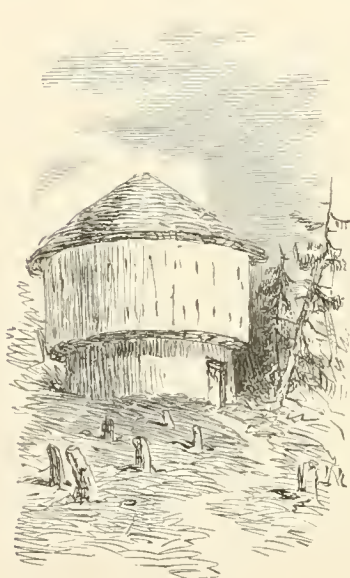
"All hail, great chief! who quailed before  
A Bisshopp, on Niagara's shore;  
But looks on Death with dauntless eye,  
And begs for leave to bleed and die.  
Oh my!"

During the fall of 1812, the whole western country, incensed by Hull's surrender and the atrocities of the savage allies of the British, seemed to be filled with men animated by a zeal like that of the old Crusaders. It was there determined that Michigan must be recovered and Indian tribes be made quiet by severe chastisement. In every settlement volunteers had gathered under local leaders. Companies were formed and equipped in a single day, and were ready to march the next. For several weeks these volunteers found employment in driving the hostile Indians from post to post in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, on the borders of the extreme western settlements. They desolated their villages and plantations after the manner of Sullivan in the Seneca country in 1779, and thereby the fiercest indignation against the white people was excited among the savages. This feeling, stimulated by the British allies of the Indians, led to some terrible results. So eager were the people of the West for conflict with the British, that the snows of winter lying in the wilderness between them and Detroit did not keep them from the field, and the campaign of 1813 opened with the year. General William Henry Harrison had succeeded General Hull in the command of the Army of the West, and General Sir George Prevost was the military successor of Brock, in Canada. Harrison worked intensely in preparations for a winter campaign in the northwest, which the feelings of the people demanded. To do this he must march a crude and undisciplined army through a savage wilderness, in dark forests and across tangled swamps, wherein lurked wily enemies; and, at the same time, he had to defend a frontier several hundred miles in extent against the tomahawk and scalping-knife, at all hazards. Block-houses had to be built and garrisoned on the way, and magazines of provisions created and defended. But the good soldiers cheerfully undertook the difficult task. Brave and experienced leaders had rallied to his standard. Kentucky sent swarms of young men from every social rank, led by the veteran Isaac Shelby, whose exploits at King's Mountain in the Revolution were remembered with gratitude. The yeomanry of Ohio and its neighborhood had hastened to the field; and so

numerous were the volunteers, that Harrison was compelled to issue orders against further enlistments. He made the vicinity of the Maumee Valley, near the western end of Lake Erie, the place of general rendezvous, whence he intended to fall upon Malden and Detroit; and he designated the brigades from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and one from Ohio, under General Simon Perkins, as the right wing of the army, and the Kentuckians under General Winchester, as the left wing. So arranged, the army pressed forward.

Winchester, with eight hundred young Kentuckians, reached the Maumee Rapids in January, 1813, where he learned that a party of British and Indians

were occupying Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan), on the River Raisin, twenty miles south of Detroit. He sent a detachment, under Colonels Allen and Lewis, to protect the inhabitants in that region, who drove the enemy out of the hamlet of about thirty families, and held it until the arrival of Winchester, on the 20th, with about three hundred men. At that time General Proctor was at Malden, eighteen miles distant, with a considerable body of British and Indians; and with fifteen hundred of these, he crossed the river and marched stealthily at night to attack the Americans.



A BLOCK-HOUSE.

Late in the evening of the 21st, intelligence reached Winchester that a foe was approaching. He did not believe it. At midnight the camp was as reposed as if under absolute security from heaven.

The sentinels were posted; but the weather being intensely cold, pickets were not sent out upon roads leading to the town. Just as the drummer-boy was beating the *réveillé* in the gray of dawn on the 22d, the sharp crack of a rifle, followed by musketry, awoke the sleepers. Bombshells and canister-shot immediately succeeded in a shower upon the camp. The Americans seized their arms, and opposed force to force. Very soon the soldiers fled to the woods for shelter, where the savages, who swarmed there, hewed them down with gleaming hatchets. The allies made it a war of extermination on that morning.

Winchester was made a prisoner, and he concluded an agreement with Proctor to surrender his troops to that officer on condition that ample

protection should be given to them against the fury of the savages. The promise was given and immediately violated. Proctor, knowing Harrison to be near, hastened toward Malden, leaving the sick and wounded Americans behind, without a guard. The Indians followed him awhile, when they turned back, murdered and scalped those who were unable to travel as captives, set fire to houses, and took many prisoners to Detroit to procure exorbitant prices for ransom. The indifference of Proctor and his troops on that occasion, and the dreadful suspicion that they encouraged the savages in their butchery of the defenceless, was keenly felt in all the West, and par-



SCENE AT THE RIVER RAISIN.

ticularly in Kentucky, for most of the victims were of the flower of society in that State. After that the war-cry of Kentuckians—"Remember the River Raisin!" was often heard.

Harrison had advanced to the Maumee Rapids when he heard of the disaster at Frenchtown, and hearing that Proctor was marching toward Malden, he established a fortified camp there at the beginning of February, and named it Fort Meigs. It was near the site of the present village of Perrysburg, and opposite Maumee City. There Harrison was besieged many weeks afterward by Proctor and Tecumtha, with full two thousand of their allied followers. They came down from Malden and appeared at the British Fort Miami, near Fort Meigs, at the close of April. Although the latter fort was strong, having bastions and many cannon planted, Harrison felt

that its garrison was in peril, and he sent a courier to General Greene Clay, who was on his march northward with Kentuckians, urging him to press forward.

Clay was near the Maumee Valley when the courier reached him. He resolved to send Harrison word of the near approach of succor, for Clay was at the head of twelve hundred men. Captain Leslie Combs, a young man then nineteen years of age (yet living), volunteered to be the messenger. With four men of his company and a young Indian, he went down the Maumee in a canoe, and as they approached the Rapids, they heard the roar of artillery at Fort Meigs. It was the first of May, and Proctor had begun the siege. How shall I enter an invested fort? was a question that perplexed the gallant captain. But he pushed on, and having passed the Rapids in safety, he rounded a point in full view of the fort, over which waved the Stars and Stripes. Suddenly some Indians appeared in the woods on shore. Combs attempted to shoot by them in the canoe on the swift current, but a volley from their guns killed one of his men and badly wounded another. They turned the prow of the canoe toward the opposite shore and escaped.

Clay pressed forward, and on the morning of the 5th of May, was near the fort. A large part of his troops, under Colonel Dudley, were landed near the site of Maumee City, and pressed forward to attack the British battery there. Captain Combs and his riflemen were in the advance. The battery was taken, most of its great guns were spiked, and the British flag was hauled down and trailed on the earth, while huzzas rang out from the ramparts of Fort Meigs. The troops were signaled to fall back and cross the river; but at that moment some ambushed Indians fell upon Combs and his men and made them prisoners. These savages were attacked by Dudley's troops. The Indians were reinforced, and Dudley was defeated and slain. Of the eight hundred men who followed him from the boats, only one hundred and seventy escaped to Fort Meigs.

Meanwhile Colonel Boswell, with the remainder of Clay's army, had fought his way toward the fort. Meeting a sallying party sent out by Harrison, they all turned upon their assailants and drove them into the woods. Another sortie was made against the besiegers at another point, and more than eight hundred of the motley foe were driven from their batteries and dispersed. The siege of Fort Meigs was then abandoned, and the assailants went back to Malden. Combs and his companions were stripped and taken to old Fort Miami, where, almost naked, they were compelled to run the gauntlet between two rows of savages, armed with war-clubs, tomahawks, scalping-knives, and pistols. Many of the victims were killed or badly



maimed by blows from the Indians. When the survivors were all inside the fort, they would have been massacred but for the humanity of Tecumtha, which was greater than that of Proctor, who did not attempt to stay the fury of the Indians. Active military operations in the West were suspended for several weeks after the siege of Fort Meigs was raised.

Let us here take a brief retrospective glance at civil affairs. Congress assembled on the 2d of November, 1812. Its counsels were divided by fierce party-spirit that boded evil to the public interests. The Democrats had a decided majority in both houses, and the measures of the administration were sustained. Madison was re-elected President of the republic. There had been some changes in the cabinet, John Armstrong having taken the place of William Eustis as Secretary of War, in January, 1813, and William Jones that of Paul Hamilton as Secretary of the Navy, at the same time. Mr. Monroe remained Secretary of State, and William Pinckney, Attorney-General. The British government had shown some desire for reconciliation, by a repeal of the Orders in Council, but there were other obstacles which kept the doors of amicable adjustment fast closed. The report of the Committee on Foreign Relations to the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calhoun, their chairman, had taken high ground, which the British government did not approve. "The impressment of our seamen," said that report, "being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until that cause be removed. To appeal to arms in defence of a right, and to lay them down without securing it, or a satisfactory evidence of a good disposition in the opposite party to secure it, would be considered in no other light than a relinquishment of it. . . . War having been declared, and the case of impressment being necessarily included as one of the most important causes, it is evident it must be provided for in the pacification. The omission of it, in a treaty of peace, would not leave it on its former ground; it would, in effect, be an absolute relinquishment—an idea at which the feelings of every American must revolt."

Almost simultaneously with the presentation of this report (January, 1813), which recommended negotiations for peace, the Prince Regent (the actual sovereign of Great Britain) issued a manifesto concerning the causes of the war and the subject of blockade and impressment, in which he declared that the war was not the consequence of any fault of Great Britain, but that it had been brought on by the partial conduct of the American government in overlooking the aggressions of the French in their negotiations with them. He alleged that a quarrel with Great Britain had been sought because she had adopted measures solely retaliative as toward France, and that as those measures had been abandoned by a repeal of the

Orders in Council, the war was now continued on the question of impressment and search. On this point the Prince Regent took such a decisive position, that the door for negotiation seemed to be irrevocably shut. "His Royal Highness," said the manifesto, "can never admit that the exercise of undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching merchant-vessels in time of war, and the impressment of British seamen when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag; neither can he admit, the taking of such seamen from on board such vessels can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure or a justifiable cause of war." This assertion was not correct, for the right of Great Britain to search and impress had been disputed by all the maritime nations of Europe for many years.

After reaffirming the old English doctrine respecting self-expatriation of a British subject, the manifesto continued: "But if to the practice of the United States to harbor British seamen, be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own country as within it, it is obvious that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose the very foundation of our maritime strength." The manifesto charged our government with systematic efforts to inflame the people against Great Britain, and that a hostile temper toward that government, and "complete subserviency to the ruler of France," was evident in the official correspondence between the American and French governments. "While contending against France in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but also of the world," said the manifesto, "His Royal Highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin—their common interest—from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny." The Prince Regent also declared most solemnly, in that manifesto, that "the charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States, is equally void of foundation." This denial was iterated and reiterated by British statesmen and publicists then, and have been ever since. It is very natural for a civilized and Christian people to repel the charge of complicity with savage pagans in the practice of merciless and barbarous warfare; but the fact has been too clearly proved by documentary and other evidence to be doubted.

At this juncture, when reconciliation seemed impossible, a ray of hope came from northern Europe. When the declaration of war reached St.

Petersburg, the Russian emperor, Alexander, expressed his regret to the American minister, John Quincy Adams, and suggested the expediency of tendering his mediation for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. Mr. Adams favored it; but the victorious march of Napoleon toward Moscow the heart of the Russian empire, delayed the measure for a while. The mediation was finally tendered through the Russian minister at Washington early in March, 1813, a few days after Mr. Madison, in his second inaugural address, had endeavored to excite the feelings of the people in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. The offer was accepted by the President, who nominated Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, and James A. Bayard, a member of the Senate, to act jointly with Mr. Adams, as commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, at St. Petersburg. The British government refused to accept the mediation of the emperor, and the war went on.

We left General Harrison and his little army at Fort Meigs. When he was assured that Proctor and his allies had returned to Fort Malden, he left General Clay in command of Fort Meigs, and proceeded to Lower Sandusky (now Fremont, on the west bank of Sandusky River,) and the interior, to make preparations for the defence of the Erie frontier against the foiled and exasperated foe. He met Governor Meigs at Lower Sandusky, with a considerable body of Ohio militia, pressing forward to his relief; and he found the Ohio settlements so full of enthusiasm, that he felt sure of aid whenever he might call for it. Meanwhile Tecumtha had been urging Proctor to renew the siege of Fort Meigs. That timid General hesitated a long time; but finally, late in July, he appeared before Fort Meigs with his Indian allies—his own and Tecumtha's followers numbering about four thousand. The tribes of the northwest were fully represented. Satisfied that he could not capture the fort, Proctor and his white troops embarked with their stores, on the 28th of July, for Sandusky Bay, with the intention of attacking Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, a regular earthwork, with a ditch, circumvallating pickets, bastions, and block-houses. It was garrisoned by one hundred and sixty men under the command of Major George Croghan of the regular army, and then only twenty-one years of age.

Proctor's dusky allies marched across the country to assist in the siege; and when, on the afternoon of the 31st, the British in transports and gun-boats appeared at a turn in the river a mile from the fort, it was perceived that the woods near by were swarming with Indians. Tecumtha had concealed about two thousand of them in the forest, to watch the roads along which reinforcements might attempt to reach Fort Stephenson. Proctor at once made a demand for the surrender of the fort, accompanied by the usual

couched threat of massacre by the Indians in case of refusal. The demand was met by a defiant refusal. This was immediately followed by a cannonade from the gun-boats and howitzers which the British had landed. All night long the great guns played upon the fort without serious effect, and answered occasionally by the solitary 6-pound cannon possessed by the garrison, which was shifted from one block-house to another to give the impression that the works were armed with several great guns.

During the night the British dragged three 6-pound cannon to a point higher than the fort, and early in the morning these opened fire on the



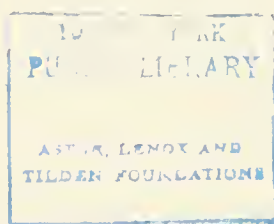
ATTACK ON FORT STEPHENSON.

works. This continued many hours with very little effect, the garrison remaining silent. Proctor became impatient and his savage allies were becoming uneasy, for there were rumors of reinforcements on their way for the men in the fort; so he resolved to storm the work. At five o'clock in the afternoon of that hot August day, while the bellowing of distant thunder was heard from an angry tempest-cloud in the western sky, the British marched in two columns to assail the fort. At the same time some





THE BRITISH REPULSED AT FORT STEPHENSON.



British grenadiers made a wide circuit through the woods to make a feigned attack at another point. As the two columns advanced, the artillery played incessantly upon the fort, and under cover of the smoke they had reached a position within fifteen or twenty paces of the strong pickets, before they were discovered. The garrison consisted of Kentucky "sharp-shooters," whose rifles now opened a deadly fire upon the foe. The British columns wavered, but soon rallied; and the first, pushing over the glacis, leaped into the ditch to assail the palisades. "Cut away the pickets, my brave boys, and show the damned Yankees no quarter!" shouted Lieutenant-Colonel Short, their leader. His voice was soon silenced. In a block-house that commanded the ditch in a raking position, the only cannon of the fort was masked. When that ditch was crowded with men, the port flew open and a terrible storm of slugs and grape-shot swept along the living wall with awful effect. The second column, led by Lieutenant Gordon, leaped into the ditch, and met a similar reception, to which was added a volley of rifle-balls. Short and Gordon, and many of their followers, were slain in the ditch. A precipitate and confused retreat followed, the British having lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and twenty-men, while only one man of the garrison was killed and several were wounded. The cowardly Indians, always afraid of cannon, had not joined in the fight, but were swift in the flight.

This gallant defence of Fort Stephenson commanded the greatest admiration, and Major Croghan received many honors. Congratulatory letters were sent to him. The ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, bought and presented to him an elegant sword, and Congress voted him the thanks of the nation. Twenty-two years afterward, that body awarded him a gold medal for his bravery and skill on that occasion. This defence, so unexpected and successful, had a powerful effect upon the Indians. Tecumtha no longer believed in British invincibility, of which Proctor had boasted, and the British abandoned all hope of capturing these western American posts until they should become masters of Lake Erie.



## CHAPTER X.

COMMAND OF LAKE ERIE COVETED—CAPTAIN PERRY SUPERINTENDS THE CREATION OF A FLEET IN THAT LAKE—THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH SQUADRONS—PERRY REPORTS TO HARRISON—NAVAL BATTLE ON LAKE ERIE—HARRISON PURSUES THE BRITISH FROM MALDEN—BATTLE ON THE THAMES—DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH—MICHIGAN RECOVERED—EVENTS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE FRONTIER—CAPTURE OF YORK AND FORT GEORGE—BATTLE AT STONY CREEK—BRITISH REPULSED AT SACKETT'S HARBOR—ANOTHER INVASION OF CANADA PLANNED—DISAGREEMENT OF GENERAL OFFICERS.

WHO shall be masters of Lake Erie? was a question which the belligerents tried to solve in the summer and early autumn of 1813. Our government had not listened to the proposition of General Hull early in 1812, to construct a naval force on that lake, but its wisdom was made manifest before the close of that year.

Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, a zealous young naval officer of Rhode Island, who was in command of a flotilla of gun-boats on the Newport station, offered his services for the lakes, and early in February, 1813 a letter to him from Commodore Chauncey, said: "You are the very person I want for a particular service, in which you may gain reputation for yourself and honor for your country." That service was the command of a naval force on Lake Erie; and on the 17th of February, Perry received orders from the Secretary of the Navy to report to Chauncey with all possible dispatch, and to take with him to Sackett's Harbor all of the best men of the flotilla at Newport. He sent them forward at once in companies of fifty under sailing-masters Almy, Champlin and Taylor, and followed them in a sleigh. He met Chauncey at Albany, and they journeyed together in a sleigh through the dark wilderness to Sackett's Harbor. A fortnight afterward (March, 1813,) Perry went to Presque Isle (now Erie, Pa.) to hasten the construction and equipment of a little navy there, to co-operate with General Harrison for the recovery of Michigan.

Four vessels were speedily built at Erie, and five others were taken to that sheltered harbor from Black Rock, below Buffalo, where Henry Eckford had fashioned merchant-vessels into warriors. The little fleet of nine vessels were all ready at Erie early in July, and the flag-ship was named the *Law-*



rence, in compliment to the gallant commander of the *Chesapeake*, who had just given his life to his country. But men and supplies were wanting, and Perry had to wait weeks, in great impatience, before he could get out on the lake to meet a British squadron that was cruising there under Commodore Barclay. That squadron seriously menaced the fleet at Presque Isle, while Perry chafed under compulsory idleness. Late in July he wrote to Chauncey: "For God's sake, and yours and mine, send me men and officers, and I will have them all (the British vessels) in a day or two. . . . Our sails are bent, provisions on board, and in fact everything is ready. Barclay has been bearding me for several days; I long to be at him. . . . Think of my situation; the enemy in sight, the vessels under my command more than sufficient and ready to make sail, and yet obliged to bite my fingers with vexation for want of men."

Meanwhile the tardy government and the stay-at-home citizens were calling loudly upon Perry and Harrison to "do something," and the former, fretted by these implied complaints, having been reinforced by about one hundred men under Captain Elliott, went out upon the lake with his little fleet early in August, before he was fairly prepared for vigorous combat. He determined to report to Harrison that he was ready for co-operation with him, and on the 17th day of August, when off Sandusky Bay, he fired signal guns according to agreement. Late on the evening of the 19th, Harrison and his suite arrived in boats and went on board the *Lawrence*, where arrangements were made for the fall campaign in that quarter. Harrison had then about eight thousand militia, regulars and Indians, at camp Seneca, a little more than twenty miles from the lake. While he was waiting for Harrison to prepare his army for transportation to Malden, Perry cruised about the lake. Then he lay quietly at anchor in Put-in-Bay for a few days. On a bright and beautiful morning, the 10th of September, the sentinel watching in the maintop of the *Lawrence*, cried "Sail ho!" It announced the appearance of the British fleet, clearly seen in the north-western horizon.

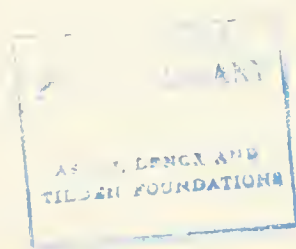
Six barques train'd for battle the red flag displaying,  
By Barclay commanded, their wings wide outspread,  
Forsook their stronghold, on broad Erie essaying,  
To meet with that foe they so lately did dread.

The sentinel's cry was followed by signals from the *Lawrence* to the rest of the fleet: "Enemy in sight. Get under way;" and the shout of the boatswains, "All hands up anchor, ahoy!" Perry's nine vessels were the brigs *Lawrence*, 20; *Niagara*, 20; *Caledonia*, 3. Schooners *Ariel*, 4; *Scorpion*, 2, and two swivels; *Tigris*, 1; *Porcupine*, 1; and sloop *Trippe*, 1; in all fifty-

four carriage-guns and two swivels. Barclay's fleet consisted of the flag-ship *Detroit*, the *Queen Charlotte*, *Lady Prevost*, *Hunter*, *Little Belt*, and *Chippewa*, carrying 64 carriage-guns, 2 swivels, and 4 howitzers. At the masthead of the *Lawrence*, Perry displayed a blue banner, with the reported last words of Captain Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" displayed upon it in large white letters.

The two squadrons slowly approached each other, and at noon the battle began at long range—the *Scorpion*, commanded by young Champlin, then less than twenty-four years of age, firing the first shot on the American side. Nearer and nearer the vessels approached each other; hotter and hotter waxed the fight. For two hours the *Lawrence* bore the brunt of battle, with twice her force, until, like the *Guerriere*, she lay upon the waters an almost total wreck. Her rigging was all shot away; her sails were cut into shreds, her spars were battered into splinters, and her guns were dismounted. One mast remained, and from it the Stars and Stripes were streaming. A less hopeful man than Perry would have pulled them down and surrendered, for his deck was a scene of dreadful carnage. Meanwhile most of the other vessels had been fighting gallantly, excepting the stanch *Niagara*, Captain Elliot, which kept outside and was unhurt. As this lagging brig drew near, Perry determined to fly to her, and renewing the fight, gain a victory. In token of his faith he put on the uniform of his rank, as if conscious he should receive Barclay as a prisoner. Then taking down his broad pennant and the banner with the stirring words, he entered his boat with his little brother, fourteen years of age, and four stout seamen for the oars, and started on his perilous voyage, anxiously watched by Lieutenant Yarnell and a few others, who had been left in charge of the battered *Lawrence*. Perry stood upright in his boat with the pennant and banner partly wrapped around him, a conspicuous mark for the guns of the enemy. Barclay, who was badly wounded, knew that if Perry, who had fought the *Lawrence* so gallantly, should tread the decks of the stanch *Niagara* as commander, the British would be in danger of defeat; so he ordered big and little guns to be brought to bear upon the boat that bore the young hero. The voyage lasted fifteen minutes. The oars were splintered, bullets traversed the little vessel, and round and grape-shot falling in the water near, covered his oarsmen with spray. But he reached the *Niagara* in safety. Hoisting his pennant over that vessel, he dashed through the British line, and eight minutes afterward the colors of the enemy's flag-ship were struck, and all but two of the fleet surrendered. These attempted to escape. They were pursued and brought back by the brave young Champlin in the *Scorpion* late in the evening. He had fired the *first* gun at the opening of the







battle, and now he had fired the *last* one in securing the conquered vessels. The victory was complete. Assured of triumph, Perry sat down, and resting his naval cap on his knee, wrote with a lead-pencil, on the back of a letter, this famous despatch to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop.

"Yours, with great respect,

"O. H. PERRY."



PERRY GOING FROM THE "LAWRENCE" TO THE "NIAGARA."

The news of this victory carried joy to the hearts of the Americans. The lakes had echoed the triumphs of the ocean. The name of Perry was made immortal. His government, in the name of the people, thanked him, and gave him and Elliott each a gold medal. States and cities honored him. The legislature of Pennsylvania voted him thanks and a gold medal; and they gave the thanks of the Commonwealth and a silver medal to each man who was engaged in the battle. The loss of the Americans in the conflict on Lake Erie, considering the small number engaged, was very severe—

twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded. The British lost about two hundred in killed and wounded, and six hundred made prisoners. Perry's humane conduct toward the captives was such that Barclay declared it was sufficient to immortalize him.

This victory was followed by energetic action on the part of Harrison. The veteran Governor Shelby, the hero of King's Mountain, had joined him with four thousand Kentucky volunteers. The command of Lake Erie was secured, and he proceeded to attack Fort Malden and attempt the recovery of Detroit. The fleet took a part of his troops across the lake and landed them below Fort Malden, but no enemy was there. The cowardly Proctor, taking counsel of his fears, and in spite of the indignant remonstrances of Tecumtha, had fled with his motley host into the interior of Canada, setting fire to Fort Malden and the many buildings and store-houses at Amherstberg when he left. As the Americans approached the smoking ruins, they were met by a troop of modest, well-dressed women, who came to implore mercy and protection. Harrison calmed their fears and took possession of the fort while the bands played Yankee Doodle. Proctor's rear-guard had been gone only about an hour when the Americans arrived.

The American flotilla that bore the troops across the lake reached Detroit on the 29th of September. On the same day Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, with a troop of cavalry, arrived at Detroit, and Harrison encamped with his army at Sandwich. Informed that Proctor and Tecumtha were flying eastward toward the Moravian town on the Thames, or *La Tranche*, as the French called the stream, eighty miles from Detroit, Harrison began a pursuit on the morning of the 2d of October, with about thirty-five hundred troops. Johnson and his mounted men led the van, and Shelby's Kentuckians composed the bulk of the pursuers. They overtook the fugitives on the 5th, a short distance from the Moravian town, and there, in an open wood, with the Thames on one flank and a deep swamp on the other, a severe battle was fought. Tecumtha was slain, and his amazed followers, who had fought desperately, broke and fled to the shelter of the swamp. The whole British force, about eight hundred strong, were speedily vanquished, and most of them were made prisoners. Proctor escaped in his carriage, with his personal staff, a few dragoons and mounted Indians, hotly pursued by Johnson and his horsemen. He made his way to the western end of Lake Ontario, and there his military career was ended. Proctor was rewarded by the censure of his superiors, the rebuke of his sovereign, and the scorn of all honorable men, for his career in America had been marked by cowardice and cruelty.

Harrison's victory was complete. His praises were sounded from the

St. Croix to the delta of the Mississippi; and Congress gave him and Shelby the thanks of the nation and each a gold medal. At that battle six brass field-pieces taken from Hull at Detroit were recaptured, on two of which were engraved the words: "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." They may now be seen at West Point, on the Hudson. The Moravian town, near the battle-ground, is a village in the township of Oxford, and was a settlement of Indian Moravian converts who had fled from the Muskingum, Ohio, in 1792.

This victory was an important one. All that Hull had lost was recovered. The Indian Confederacy in the Northwest was broken up, and the war on the northwestern border of the Union was ended. The achievement was fully appreciated, and a member of the House of Representatives said in his place: "Such a victory would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the Republic, the honors of a triumph." The frontier being now secured, Harrison dismissed a greater portion of the volunteers; and leaving Colonel Lewis Cass with a garrison of a thousand regulars, as military governor at Detroit on the 23d of October (1813), he proceeded to Niagara with the remainder of the troops, to join the army of the centre. For some unexplained reason, General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, treated Harrison so badly that the latter resigned, and his country was deprived of his valuable services at a most critical time.

During the winter of 1813, there were some stirring events on the St. Lawrence frontier. The repulse of the British at Ogdensburg has been noticed. After that, under the pretence of looking for deserters, British soldiers crossed the river and captured some Americans and committed robberies. Major Forsythe, in command of riflemen at Ogdensburg, retaliated by crossing to Elizabethtown (now Brockville) and releasing all the prisoners in jail there. This was resented by the British, who, on the morning of the 22d of February, 1813, about eight hundred strong, crossed the St. Lawrence River on the ice and entered Ogdensburg. The inhabitants fled into the country. A conflict of an hour ensued in the streets between the invaders and Forsythe's little force, and the enemy became masters of the village. Then they plundered every house in the town except three, burned the barracks near the river and two gun-boats and two armed schooners frozen in the ice, and returned to Canada with their plunder. These events accelerated the gathering of militia on the northern frontier, especially at Sackett's Harbor; but these troops, undisciplined, were of little immediate service.

A second invasion of Canada was a capital feature in the general plan of the campaign of 1814. General Dearborn, who was in immediate command

of the northern army, had about six thousand troops under his control. These were to defend the frontier from Buffalo to St. Regis, and to them was also given the task of capturing Montreal and the province of Upper Canada. Chauncey had gained such a mastery on Lake Ontario, that it was believed he might easily confine the British squadron to Kingston Harbor, where it was ice-bound during the winter. The plan of the campaign sent from the War Department reached General Dearborn at Plattsburg at near the middle of February, and he immediately made preparations for the invasion by concentrating troops at Sackett's Harbor and Buffalo. When Dearborn arrived at the former post, at about the first of March, rumors were current there that Sir George Prevost was in command of six or eight thousand men, and was actively engaged in preparations for offensive operations. Dearborn found only about three thousand troops at the Harbor. General Brown was ordered to summon several hundred of the militia to the field; and Colonel Pike was directed to hasten to the Harbor from Plattsburg with four hundred of his best men. Henry Eckford arrived soon after Dearborn, with instructions to build six war-schooners at Sackett's Harbor; and orders were given to Chauncey for the purchase of as many more as the exigencies of the service might require.

At the middle of April, Dearborn and Chauncey matured a plan of invasion with a combined land and naval force. It was to cross over the lake and capture York (now Toronto), and then to assail Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara River. At the same time troops were to cross in the vicinity of Buffalo and capture Forts Erie and Chippewa, join the victors at Fort George, and all proceed to capture Kingston. With seventeen hundred troops under the immediate command of Pike, who had lately been commissioned a brigadier-general, Dearborn sailed in Chauncey's fleet from Sackett's Harbor on the 25th of April, and on the morning of the 27th, the armament appeared before York. The land forces disembarked about two miles westward of the British fortifications there, in the face of a galling fire from regulars and Indians under General Sheaffe. These were soon driven back to their works, and the Americans, led by the brave Pike, pressed forward and captured two redoubts. At the same time Chauncey was hurling upon the foe deadly volleys of grape-shot from his naval cannon.

Sheaffe and his little army, deserted by the Indians who had fled before the roar of artillery, now took post with the garrison near the governor's house and opened a heavy fire of round and grape-shot upon the invaders. This battery was soon silenced by Pike's heavy guns, and it was expected that a white flag, in token of surrender, would soon appear, when a sudden and awful catastrophe occurred. General Pike was sitting on the stump of



a tree talking with a captive British officer, when a tremor of the earth was felt and was immediately followed by a tremendous explosion near by. The British, unable to hold the fort, had fired a magazine of gunpowder on the edge of the lake. The effect was terrible. Fragments of the timber and huge stones, of which the magazine walls were built, were scattered in every direction over a space of several hundred feet and more. When the smoke floated away, the scene was appalling. Fifty-two Americans lay dead, and one hundred and eighty others were wounded. Forty of the British were also slain. General Pike, two of his aides, and the captive officer, were mortally hurt. The dying general was taken to one of Chauncey's vessels.



DEATH OF GENERAL PIKE.

His benumbed ears heard the shout of victory when the British ensign was pulled down at York. Just before he died, the captured British flag was brought to him. He smiled, and made a sign for it to be placed under his head. It was done, and he expired. The civil authorities of York and the militia officers formally surrendered the place, while Sheaffe and a larger part of his force, after destroying some vessels and store-houses, escaped to Kingston. The Americans lost in killed and wounded two hundred and eighty-six men; the loss of the British (besides prisoners), in killed and wounded, was one hundred and forty men.

The victors left York early in May, and proceeded to attack Fort George. The British force in that vicinity, under General Vincent, numbered about eighteen hundred men. Besides Fort George, they had several smaller works along the Niagara River. The American troops had landed and

encamped five miles east of Fort Niagara, and their arrangements were made for the attack on the British works on the morning of the 27th of May. The troops were conveyed by Chauncey's squadron, and under cover of his guns, landed a little westward of the mouth of the Niagara. The advance was led by Colonel Winfield Scott, accompanied by Commodore Perry, who had charge of the boats. He and Scott both leaped into the water at the head of the first division of men, and in the face of a galling fire and of bristling bayonets ascended the bank. The other troops followed, and after a severe conflict on the plain, the British fell back discomfited. General Vincent, satisfied that he must retreat, and knowing Fort George to be untenable, ordered the garrison to spike the guns, destroy the ammunition and abandon it. This was done, and the whole British force retreated westward to a strong position among the hills, at a place called the Beaver Dams, about eighteen miles from the Niagara River. There Vincent had a deposit of stores and provisions. Forts Chippewa and Erie were abandoned, and the Niagara frontier of Canada passed into the possession of the Americans.

Chauncey sailed for Sackett's Harbor, and on the first of June, Dearborn sent General Winder, with a considerable force, in pursuit of General Vincent, who was making his way toward Burlington Heights, at the western end of Lake Ontario. Winder took the lake-shore road, and marched rapidly. On the 5th he was joined by General Chandler, with some troops, who, being senior officer, took the chief command. Meanwhile Vincent had gained his destination and the Americans encamped at Stony Creek, seven miles eastward of him. There, on the night of the 6th, the Americans were surprised and fiercely attacked by Vincent. The night was intensely dark, and a severe battle was fought in the gloom. The British were repulsed, but in the darkness and confusion both of the American commanders were captured. The Americans, fearing a renewal of the attack, made a hasty retreat toward the Niagara. They were met by a relief party. On their way they were threatened by a British fleet on the left, and hostile savages on the mountain on the right; but they drove the former away with hot and cold shot, defied the latter and the local militia that hovered on their flanks, and reached Fort George in safety.

When the British at Kingston heard of the weakening of Sackett's Harbor by the withdrawal of a portion of the land and naval forces there, to attack York, they resolved to attempt its capture, for it was a place of great importance. It was the chief depot for the military and naval stores of the Americans on that frontier, and its possession would give to the holders the command of the lake. The affair at York made the enemy cir-

cumspect; but when it was known that Chauncey and Dearborn had gone to the Niagara, they proceeded to assail Sackett's Harbor.

On the evening of the 27th of May, word came to the Harbor, that a British squadron, under Sir James Yeo, had sailed from Kingston. Colonel Backus was in command of the troops at Sackett's Harbor. General Jacob Brown was at his home, a few miles from Watertown, and he had promised Backus to take the chief command in case of an invasion. The news from Kingston was sent to him, and before the dawn of the 28th, he was in the



MRS. SECOND WARNING FITZGIBBON.

camp at the Harbor. He sent expresses in all directions to summon the militia to the field and fired alarm-guns to arouse the inhabitants. As fast as the militia came in they were armed and sent to Horse Island, where the light-house now stands, the place where it was expected the invaders would first attempt to land.

At noon on the 28th, six British armed vessels and forty bateaux appeared off Sackett's Harbor, bearing over a thousand land troops, the whole armament under the command of Sir George Prevost. The troops were embarked in the bateaux, but were soon ordered back, when the whole squadron put to sea. Sir George had been alarmed by the appearance of a flotilla of American gun-boats approaching from the westward conveying a part of a regiment from Oswego to join the garrison at Sackett's Harbor. As soon as their real weakness was perceived, the prows of the squadron were again turned toward the Harbor, and on the morning of the 29th a

considerable force, with cannon and muskets, landed on Horse Island. The militia had been withdrawn from the island, and placed behind a gravel-ridge on the main. These fled almost at the first fire of the enemy. This disgraceful conduct astonished General Brown, and he attempted to rally the fugitives. Colonel Backus, with his regulars and Albany volunteers, were disputing the advance of the enemy inch by inch, and a heavy gun from Fort Tompkins played upon the British. At that moment a dense smoke arose in the rear of the Americans. The store-houses, in which was gathered an immense amount of materials, and the ship on the stocks, had been fired by the officer in charge, under the impression, when the militia fled, that the post would be captured. The sight was disheartening; but when Brown was assured that the incendiary was a friend, he felt a relief and redoubled his exertions to rally the militia. He succeeded, and so turned the fortunes of the day in favor of his country. Sir George Prevost, mounting a high stump and sweeping the horizon with his field-glass, saw the rallying militia on his flank and rear, and supposing these to be reinforcements of regulars in large numbers, sounded a retreat. That movement became a disorderly flight. The British troops reached the squadron in safety, leaving their dead and wounded behind. At noon the whole armament sailed away, and Sackett's Harbor was saved. So also was the ship on the stocks; but a half million dollars worth of stores were destroyed. Sackett's Harbor was never afterward attacked, and it remained the chief place of deposit for supplies for the northern frontier during the war.

We left the Americans on the Niagara frontier, at Fort George. The British advance-post was then at the Beaver Dams, and General Dearborn sent Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, with about six hundred men and two field-pieces, to capture the garrison and a large amount of stores collected there. It proved to be a most unfortunate undertaking. Mrs. Laura Secord, a light and delicate woman living at Queenstown, became acquainted with Dearborn's plan, and on a hot summer day on the 23d of June, she made a circuitous journey of nineteen miles on foot to the quarters of Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, who was at the Beaver Dams with some regulars, and informed him of his danger. When, on the following day, Boerstler penetrated that region, he was assailed by Indians under John Brant and others, and by an exaggerated statement of the strength of the British in that neighborhood, was induced to surrender his whole command. The British then advanced to Queenstown, and very soon invested Fort George with a strong force. Dearborn, whose career as commander-in-chief of the army had been singularly unsuccessful, was now succeeded by General James Wilkinson. The change was of no value to the American cause. Dearborn



withdrew from the service before the arrival of Wilkinson, leaving the command of the Americans at Fort George with General John Boyd, the senior officer on that frontier.

Thus far all attempts to conquer Canada had failed. The invasions were unsuccessful, yet the government did not seem to have gained wisdom by experience. The Secretary of War, General Armstrong, was as much infatuated with this idea as his predecessors had been, and he now conceived a plan for making an invasion of that province by the united forces of the armies of the centre and of the north; and on the arrival of Wilkinson from



JAMES WILKINSON

HENRY DEARBORN.

the command of the Gulf regions, he was ordered to Sackett's Harbor to make arrangements for the future. He differed with Armstrong about the plan of the new invasion, and bitter enmity between them was soon aroused. The fiery spirit of Armstrong could not brook contradiction. There was another fiery spirit then in the field—General Wade Hampton of South Carolina, one of Marion's companions in arms, who had succeeded Bloomfield in command of the Northern Department. He was a thorough-going aristocrat, whose landed possessions in his native State and in Louisiana were almost princely in extent, and he counted his slaves by thousands. He hated Wilkinson intensely; and when that officer, on his arrival at Albany, sent his first order to Hampton, the anger of the veteran was fiercely kindled. He wrote to the Secretary of War, insisting that his was a separate command, and tendering his resignation in the event of his being

ordered to act under Wilkinson. The latter, at the same time, was as jealous of Armstrong, whom he feared might trample upon his prerogatives; and on the 24th of August (1813), he wrote to the Secretary: "I trust you will not interfere with my arrangements, or give orders within the district of my command, but to myself, because it would impair my authority and distract the public service. Two heads on the same shoulder make a monster."

The jealousies and bickerings, and the manifestations of undesirable personal traits afterward exhibited by these old officers of the Continental army, were highly detrimental to the public service. Armstrong was haughty, fiery, and opinionated. He was a son of an officer in the French and Indian War, and had, himself, been an officer in the Continental Army as aide-de-camp, first to General Mercer and afterward to General Gates. After the war he was active in public life in his native State (Pennsylvania); and having married a sister of Chancellor Livingston, he became a citizen of the State of New York. In 1804 he succeeded his brother-in-law as minister to France, and President Madison unwisely called him to his cabinet as Secretary of War, for he was not well fitted for that office and made serious mistakes. Wilkinson was no better fitted for the office he was called to fill. He, also, was an officer in the Continental Army, and was aide-de-camp to General Gates. His peculiar temperament and personal habits made his selection as commander on the frontier an unfortunate one. As a rule, the younger officers in the army, in the War of 1812-15, were the most efficient and successful.



## CHAPTER XI.

EVENTS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER—COLONEL SCOTT AND REGULARS MARCH EASTWARD—  
EVENTS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN—EVENTS ON LAKE ONTARIO—EXPEDITION AGAINST MONTREAL  
—MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN NORTHERN NEW YORK—BATTLE OF CHRYSLER'S FIELD—THE  
AMERICAN TROOPS IN WINTER-QUARTERS—CRUELITIES ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER—DESTRU-  
TION OF BUFFALO—EVENTS IN THE GULF REGION—WAR ON THE CREEK INDIANS—JACKSON  
SUBDUES THEM—NAVAL EVENTS ON THE OCEAN—CRUISE OF THE "ESSEX"—THE "HORNET"  
AND "PEACOCK"—THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND "SHANNON"—LOSS OF THE "ARGUS"—VIC-  
TORY OF THE "ENTERPRISE."

THE British, made bold by their success at the Beaver Dams, as we have observed, not only closely invested Fort George, but made incursions upon the soil of New York. On the night of the 4th of July, 1813, a party of Canadian militia and Indians, under Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, crossed over to Schlosser and captured a guard, with arms, ammunition and stores, and returned in triumph to Canada. On the 11th of the same month, Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, with a motley party of regulars, Canadians and Indians, about four hundred in number, landed a little below Black Rock, near Buffalo, before daylight. His object was to surprise and capture the little garrison there, and seize or destroy the large quantity of stores collected by the Americans, together with the ship-yard. They were defended by only about two hundred militia, and a dozen men in a block-house. These, with some infantry and dragoon recruits from the south and a few Indians,—a little more than one hundred in all, of the latter—were at Buffalo, under the command of General Peter B. Porter.

Bisshopp surprised the post at Black Rock. The militia fled toward Buffalo, and General Porter barely escaped capture in his own house, near by. He hastened toward Buffalo, rallied a part of the militia, and with fifty volunteer-citizens proceeded to attack the invaders. At the same moment forty Indians crossed from an ambush in a ravine, and with the fearful war-whoop rushed toward the foe. The frightened British, after brief resistance, fled in confusion to their boats, and, with Bisshopp, hastily departed, followed by volleys from American muskets. In this flight Bisshopp was mortally wounded, and died five days afterward.

At about the same time, a small party of Canadians, covered by a large

body of western Indians under Blackbird (the chief who conducted the massacre at Chicago the year before), encamped a short distance from Fort George, had a skirmish with the American pickets. Lieutenant Eldridge, a dashing young officer, went out from the fort, with forty followers, to the relief of the pickets. They fell into an Indian ambush, and only five escaped. Those who were captured were butchered and scalped by the Indians, with horrible attendant circumstances. After that, no military movement of much importance occurred on the Niagara frontier, until late in the autumn of 1813.

While Wilkinson was concentrating forces at the western end of Lake Ontario preparatory to another invasion of Canada, or to the striking of a "deadly blow somewhere," orders came from the Secretary of War to strengthen Fort George, and garrison it with at least six hundred regulars. Wilkinson left eight hundred regulars at the fort, with some militia under Colonel Scott and, with the remainder of the army on the Niagara frontier, sailed eastward on the 2d of October. He instructed Scott, in the event of the British leaving that frontier, to put Fort George in charge of General McClure of the New York militia, and with the regulars to join the expedition destined to go down the St. Lawrence. This contingency soon occurred. When General Vincent heard of the defeat of Proctor on the Thames, he called the British troops from the Niagara to Burlington Heights. Then Scott crossed the river, and marching eastward as far as Utica, he there met the Secretary of War who had come from Washington to reconcile the difference between Wilkinson and Hampton, and to assume the conduct of the invading expedition. The Secretary permitted Scott to leave his troops and to press northward to join Wilkinson. Armstrong established the seat of the War Department at Sackett's Harbor.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events on Lakes Champlain and Ontario. In the spring of 1813, Captain Macdonough, who had been charged with the construction of a fleet on Lake Champlain, placed two stanch armed vessels on those waters, named *Growler* and *Eagle*. At the beginning of June they were sent to the foot of the lake to look after some British gun-boats that were depredating there. They ran down the Sorel with a stiff breeze almost to Isle-aux-Noix, when they turned and ran back, chased by British armed vessels and by a land force on each side of the narrow river. A heavy cannon-shot sunk the *Eagle*, and the *Growler* was captured with the crews of both vessels. This disaster stimulated Macdonough to greater exertions; and at the beginning of August he had placed on the lake, and fitted and manned, three armed schooners and six gun-boats. At about the same time Plattsburg (on the west side of the



lake), entirely uncovered, had been seized, plundered and scorched by a British land and naval force, fourteen hundred strong, under Colonel Murray, while General Hampton, with four thousand troops at Burlington, about twenty miles distant, had made no attempt to oppose the invaders. Such was the condition of affairs on Lake Champlain at the close of the summer of 1813, when Wilkinson took command of the army of the north.

Chauncey, meanwhile, had been busy on Lake Ontario, after leaving the mouth of the Niagara River. While at Niagara he heard of the appearance of a British fleet on the lake and its menace of Sackett's Harbor, when he immediately weighed anchor and sought the enemy. He crossed the lake, looked into York, and ran for Kingston; but not meeting with the British fleet, he went to the Harbor, where the embers of the late conflagration were yet smouldering. The unfinished big vessel on the stocks there had been saved, and she was speedily finished and named *General Pike*. But it was late in the summer before she was fully equipped and manned. The keel of a fast-sailing schooner, called the *Sylph*, was laid by Eckford at the Harbor, and was launched late in July.

For several weeks the belligerent fleets were moving over the lake without coming to an encounter. Chauncey was seeking an opportunity to measure strength and skill with his antagonist, and Sir James Yeo, the British naval leader, was continually avoiding battle, for his superiors had instructed him to "risk nothing." Chauncey had thirteen vessels, a great portion of them altered merchantmen. Sir James had six stanch vessels built expressly for war. Finally, on the 7th of July, they were in sight of each other. There was a stiff breeze and they manœuvred all day, each trying to obtain the weather-gage. At night there was a dead calm, and Chauncey, by the use of sweeps, gathered his vessels in close order. At midnight, fitful gales swept over the lake. Suddenly a rushing sound was heard at the rear of the American fleet, and it was soon ascertained that a terrific squall had capsized two of the vessels, and all on board had perished except sixteen men. The next day there was light skirmishing; but the summer wore away without bloodshed on the lake, Sir James continually expressing a desire to "fight the Yankees."

Finally, on the 18th of September, Chauncey, who had been sent to Niagara to convey troops to Sackett's Harbor, went out to attack the British fleet which had followed him. He compelled the baronet to fight or cease boasting. A sharp battle ensued between the *Pike* and the heavier vessels of the enemy, but it did not last long. When the smoke of the conflict was cleared away, it was found that the *Wolfe*, Sir James Yeo's flag-ship, was too much bruised to fight any longer, and was hurrying away before the wind,

with crowded canvas, covered in her retreat by the *Royal George*. The enemy fled westward to Burlington Bay, pursued by Chauncey, but a rising gale made it prudent for the latter to return to Niagara. The British vessels soon made their way to Kingston; and Chauncey, returning to the Harbor, did little more during the remainder of the season, than to watch the enemy and to assist the army in its descent of the St. Lawrence.

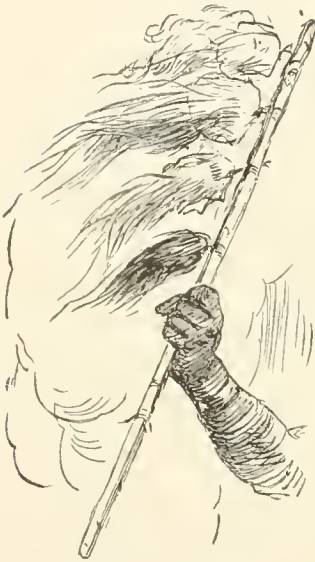
It had been determined by Armstrong and Wilkinson, in council at Sackett's Harbor, that the latter should lead an expedition down the St. Lawrence to attack Montreal. While preparations for this enterprise was in progress, the right wing of the army, under General Hampton, had been put in motion to co-operate with the forces on the St. Lawrence. At the middle of September, Hampton had gathered at Cumberland Head, near Plattsburg, four thousand effective infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and a well-appointed train of artillery. He moved forward, and on the 24th encamped on the Chateaugay River, not far from the present village of Chateaugay in Franklin county, N. Y., where he awaited further orders.

At the middle of October, the troops destined for Montreal embarked at Sackett's Harbor, and at the same time Hampton was ordered to make his way to the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the Chateaugay, to co-operate with them. The flotilla of open boats was terribly smitten by a gale. The vessels were dispersed, and much property was lost. The troops rendezvoused on Grenadier Island, except some under General Brown that pushed forward to French Creek, now Clayton, where, on the afternoon of the 1st of November, they had a sharp fight with British schooners and gun-boats filled with infantry. In the meantime snow had fallen to a considerable depth, and a Canadian winter was near. The troops went forward from Grenadier Island, and the combined force left French Creek at dawn on the morning of the 5th of November, in about three hundred boats. It was clear and cold. The banners were all folded, and the music was silent, for they wished to elude the vigilance of the British, who, until then, did not know whether Kingston or Montreal was the destination of the expedition. But the Americans were discovered and were pursued by a heavy armed galley and gun-boats filled with troops, through the sinuous channels among the Thousand Islands. That evening the belligerents had a fight by moonlight in Alexandria Bay, and land troops from Kingston reached Prescott before Wilkinson arrived at Ogdensburg. The latter disembarked his army just above that village, and marched around to a point below to avoid the batteries on the Canada shore. In the meantime General Brown had successfully taken the flotilla past the batteries at Prescott, and the forces were reunited at a point four miles below Ogdensburg.

After many perils on land and water, and being closely pursued by the enemy in boats and on the shore, under the general command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, the flotilla lay anchored a few miles above the head of Long Rapids, on the 10th of November. Many of the troops under Generals Boyd and Brown were on the northern shores of the St. Lawrence, and Brown had pushed forward to dislodge the enemy posted at the foot of the Long Rapids to attack the flotilla when it should descend the stream. Brown was successful, and the next day (November 11, 1813) General Boyd pushed forward and met the enemy face to face, in battle array, on the farm of John Chrysler, a few miles below Williamsburg, in Canada. There a severe battle was fought in cold, snow and sleet, which lasted about five hours. Boyd was ably supported by Generals Swartwout and Covington, Colonels Coles, Ripley and Swift, and Adjutant-General Walbach at the head of cavalry. The Americans were driven from the field with a total loss in killed and wounded of three hundred and thirty-nine. Among the mortally wounded was General Covington. Under cover of the night, the American troops withdrew to the boats, and the next morning the flotilla passed the Long Rapids in safety. General Wilkinson was very ill, and word came from General Hampton that he could not form the ordered junction, but would return to Lake Champlain and co-operate in the attack on Montreal. He would not serve under Wilkinson. The officers of the little invading army did not deem it prudent to follow Wilkinson (who was then weak in body and mind) any further in the way of invasion, and a council determined that the troops should be put into winter-quarters at French Mills, on the Salmon River, which was done. So ended in disaster and disgrace the expedition for another invasion of Canada. And the campaign of 1813, in the north, closed with distressing events on the Niagara frontier in December. General McClure, considering Fort George untenable with his little garrison of only forty effective men, resolved to abandon it, cross the river, and leaving Fort Niagara in charge of a subaltern, march to Buffalo. Before leaving, he ordered the beautiful village of Newark, on the Canada side, to be set on fire. One hundred and fifty houses were laid in ashes. Many of the tenants—tender women and children—were turned into the keen winter air (it was the 10th of December) houseless wanderers. This wanton savageism created fiery indignation. The British seized Fort Niagara, and massacred a part of the garrison. Free rein was given to the Indians for plunder and destruction; and every village and hamlet on the New York side of the river between the lake and Buffalo, was despoiled and burnt. Black Rock and Buffalo did not escape. The exasperated enemy took possession of the latter village, containing about fifteen hundred inhab

itants, and laid it in ruins. Only four buildings were left. That event occurred a little more than sixty years ago; now, on the site of that village, is a stately commercial city with full 125,000 inhabitants.

In the region of the Gulf of Mexico, affairs assumed a serious aspect in the summer of 1813. The ever-restless Tecumtha had been among the southern Indian tribes in the early spring, stirring them up to make war on the white people. The powerful Creeks, inhabiting Alabama and western



SCALPS FOR THE MARKET.

Georgia, yielded to his influence and persuasions; and at the close of August, a large party of them, led by the noted chief Weatherford, surprised and captured Fort Mimms, on the east side of the Alabama River, about ten miles above its junction with the Tombigbee. Flaming arrows set the fort on fire, and by the flames and the gleaming tomahawk, almost three hundred men, women, and children perished. The British agent at Pensacola had offered five dollars apiece for scalps, and many a savage pagan bore away the locks of men and the long tresses of women as marketable commodities in a Christian market.

This event aroused the whole southwest. A cry for help went northward, but it took a month to reach New York. Meanwhile the Tennesseans flew to the relief of their suffering neighbors. General Andrew Jackson, commanding that region, was then disabled by a wound received in a duel with the late Senator Thomas H. Benton; but he issued a stirring appeal to the men of his division. The Tennessee legislature provided for calling to the field over three thousand men, and immediate preparations were made for chastising the savages. Late in September Colonel John Coffee, at the head of five hundred cavalry, pressed on toward the frontier of the Creek country, and everywhere volunteers flocked to his standard. The appointed place of rendezvous for all the troops was at Fayetteville, eighty miles south of Nashville, and at that point Jackson arrived early in October, with his arm in a sling. He soon joined Coffee below the Tennessee, and with twenty-five hundred foot soldiers and thirteen hundred mounted men, he was encamped on the banks of the Coosa River at the beginning of November.



The campaign against the savages was opened with vigor. On the 3d of November, Coffee (who had lately been commissioned brigadier-general) surrounded an Indian force, with nine hundred men, at Tallashatchee (near the present town of Jacksonville, in Benton county, Alabama), and killed two hundred of the savages. Not a warrior escaped. Tallashatchee was wiped from the face of the earth. Hearing of the approach of General Cocke with East Tennesseans, Jackson pushed on to Talladega, east of the Coosa, in Talladega county, to relieve the settlers there. On the 8th of November he had a sanguinary battle with the Indians at Talladega, and defeated them with great slaughter. Among the trophies which he carried back to his camp on the Coosa, was a coarse banner on which were the Spanish arms, an evidence of the complicity of the Spaniards at Pensacola with the savages.

Late in November the Creek country was invaded from the east by Georgians under General John Floyd, nine hundred strong, accompanied by four hundred friendly Indians. Floyd pushed westward to the Tallapoosa River, and fell upon the Indians at Autossee, twenty miles above the confluence of that stream with the Coosa, at dawn on the 29th. The place was called "holy ground," and the prophets had taught the Indians that no white man could set his foot there and live. This fallacy was soon fearfully dispelled by Floyd and his followers. He assailed the warriors there with cannon, bullet, and bayonet. After a brief struggle the affrighted savages fled to the woods, closely pursued by the victors, who cruelly butchered every one they overtook.

In the meantime, General Claiborne had penetrated the Creek country from the west with a thousand men, to aid Jackson in subduing the savages. He fought the Indians who were under the immediate command of Weatherford, and on the morning of the 23d of November, he assailed them at Econachaca, another "holy" place at a bluff on the left bank of the Alabama River, in Lowndes county. There Tecumtha had left "prophets" to inflame the Creeks, and in the centre of the town white and dusky prisoners had been frightfully tortured at the stake. It was Weatherford's favorite resort, for he had built the village in an obscure place, to which no trail led. But Claiborne found it. Very soon after he closed upon it with three columns, the Indians fled in dismay, and in canoes and by swimming many escaped to the opposite shore. Weatherford, finding himself deserted by his warriors, fled swiftly on a powerful gray horse, hotly pursued, to the verge of a perpendicular bluff, having a ravine on each side. There he paused a moment, when his steed made a mighty leap, and horse and rider disappeared under the flood. They immediately rose, and Weatherford,

with his rifle in his hand, was borne by the noble animal to the opposite shore, and escaped.

Jackson's army was literally disbanded at the close of 1813, but he was soon at the head of a thousand raw recruits and some friendly Indians, attended by General Coffee. His forced inactivity for awhile had encouraged the Indians to be aggressive, and he resolved to renew the war with as much



LEAP OF WEATHERFORD'S HORSE.

vigor as possible. He pushed on with his force toward the Indian village of Emucfau, on the western bank of the Tallapoosa River, in Tallapoosa county, and encamped near there on the evening of the 21st of January, 1814. At daybreak the next morning he was fiercely attacked by the savages, and a very hard struggle ensued. The courage of the Creeks was astonishing, and though they were repulsed, Jackson thought it prudent to withdraw and return to Fort Strother, from which he had marched.

During the winter there was skirmishing in the Creek country ; and early in February, Jackson was gratified by news that two thousand East Tennesseans were near Lookout Mountain, coming to join him. The Choctaw Indians openly espoused the cause of the Americans, and at the beginning of March, he was at the head of about five thousand men, prepared to strike the savages a crushing blow. The Creeks, aware of this, gathered in large numbers at the Horse-shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa, to avert it. They called the place Tohopeka, and by the aid of white men at Pensacola, they had built a very strong breastwork of logs across the neck of the peninsula. The Indians had gathered there an ample supply of food, and with their women and children, numbering in all about twelve hundred persons, they determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Jackson moved upon Tohopeka with about two thousand soldiers, and on the 27th of March (1814) began an assault upon the stronghold, after planting small cannon on an eminence not far off. The Indians were in a fortified pen and were hopeful. The white men could make but very little impression upon their works, and were derided by the savages. Jackson called for volunteers to storm them. The first man who stepped out was Ensign Houston (afterward the eminent Sam Houston, governor of Texas), who was already wounded. Others followed. They set fire to the fortifications, and as the inmates tried to escape, they were shot down like wild beasts. Not one would surrender, and they were butchered without mercy. At the close of the conflict, almost six hundred Creek warriors lay dead, and the spoils of victory were more than three hundred Indian widows and orphans. The nation had received a deadly blow. Its power and spirit were broken forever. The chiefs of the remnant sued for peace, and agreed to a treaty upon the terms imposed by Jackson. Weatherford, their great leader, survived the destruction of his nation, and he sought the tent of Jackson. There he found the general alone. Standing erect, his magnificent figure assuming an attitude of quiet dignity, Weatherford folded his arms and with a firm voice said : "I am in your power ; do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. My warriors are all gone now, and I can do no more. When there was a chance for success, I never asked for peace. There is none now, and I ask it for the remnant of my nation." Jackson admired the pluck of the chieftain before him, and granted his request. So it has been time after time since the advent of the Europeans in America ; the hands of the stronger have been laid upon the weaker until now nothing but *remnants* of once powerful nations are found.



There were important naval events on the ocean during the year 1813. We have observed that the *Essex*, Captain Porter, sailed on a long cruise, in the autumn of 1812. Having missed Bainbridge, Porter went southward, crossed the Equator on the 11th of December, 1812, and the next day captured his first prize, the British packet-ship *Nocton*, 10, with \$55,000 in



WEATHERFORD AND JACKSON.

specie on board. He sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, with the intention of capturing the English whalers there, and to live on the enemy. While in those waters Porter seized twelve British whale-ships, with an aggregate of three hundred and two men and one hundred and seven guns. Some of them he armed, and at one time he had a fleet of nine vessels. The *Essex* finally met with disaster in the harbor of Valparaiso, in the spring of 1813. There she was blockaded, with her consort



*Essex*, Jr. (a prize vessel which Porter had manned with sixty choice men and armed with twenty cannon), by two British war-vessels—the frigate *Phaëbe*, 36, Captain Hillyer, and the schooner *Cherub*, 20, Captain Tucker. At length Porter resolved to run the blockade. The sails of his vessels were spread for the purpose on the 28th of March, 1814, and both ships started for the open sea, when a squall partly disabled the *Essex* and both sought shelter in a bay. There they were attacked by the *Phaëbe* and *Cherub*, and one of the most desperate and sanguinary battles of the war ensued. When at last the *Essex* was a helpless wreck and on fire, and her magazine was threatened—when every officer but one was slain or disabled—when, of the two hundred and twenty-five brave men who went into the fight on board of her, only seventy-five effective ones remained, Porter hauled down his flag. So ended the brilliant cruise of the *Essex*. Her gallant commander wrote to the Secretary of War: “We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced.” Porter was publicly honored as the “hero of the Pacific.”

When, after the capture of the *Java*, Bainbridge sailed for the United States, he left the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, commander James Lawrence, to blockade an English vessel in a South American port. The *Hornet* was driven away by a larger British vessel, and on the 24th of February, 1813, fell in with the British brig *Peacock*, 18, Captain Peake, off the mouth of the Demarara River. They fought desperately fifteen minutes, when the colors of the *Peacock* were hauled down, and a signal of distress was run up. Her commander was slain, and she was sinking. So rapidly did she fill, that before all the wounded could be taken from her, she went to the bottom of the sea, taking down with her nine British seamen and three Americans. Lawrence immediately sailed for the United States; and the story of the exploit of the *Hornet* created a profound sensation. A Halifax newspaper said: “It will not do for our vessels to fight them single-handed. The Americans are a dead nip.” Public honors were awarded to Lawrence, and Congress gave him thanks and a gold medal. To each of the commissioned officers of the *Hornet* they gave a silver medal. More precious than all was a public letter of thanks given to Lawrence by the officers of the *Peacock*, his prisoners, for his kind and generous treatment of them.

While the *Hornet* was on her homeward-bound voyage, with her large number of prisoners, the *Chesapeake*, 38, Captain Evans, was out on a long cruise to the Cape de Verd Islands and the coasts of South America. She accomplished nothing, excepting the capture of four British merchant vessels; and as she entered Boston harbor in a gale, her top-mast was carried away, and with it several men who were aloft. These were drowned. She

had the name of an "unlucky" ship. Evans was compelled to leave her on account of the loss of the sight of one of his eyes, and Lawrence, who had been promoted to captain, was put in command of her, with the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, as consort.

At the close of May, the British frigate *Shannon*, 38 (she carried fifty-two guns), Captain Broke, appeared off Boston harbor in the attitude of a challenger. Lawrence observed her, and on the morning of the 1st of June he sent out a pilot-boat to ascertain whether she was alone. Shortly afterward Captain Broke sent in a polite note to Lawrence inviting him to come out to single combat, and assuring him that the *Chesapeake* would be crushed by a British squadron, if she should attempt to go to sea.

Seeing that the *Shannon* was without a consort, Lawrence, with Lieutenant Ludlow as his second in command, sailed out of Boston harbor to meet the boaster, at midday on the 1st of June. They engaged in a close conflict between five and six o'clock the same evening. After fighting twelve minutes, the shot of the *Shannon* so injured the spars and rigging of the *Chesapeake*, that she became unmanageable. Her mizzen rigging was entangled in the fore chains of her antagonist, in which position the decks of the *Chesapeake* were swept with terrible effect by the balls of the *Shannon*. Lawrence ordered his boarders to be called up. There was some delay in obedience, when a musket-ball mortally wounded the gallant young commander, and he was carried below. As he left the deck he said: "Tell the men to fire faster and not to give up the ship. Fight her till she sinks." The words of the dying hero, "Don't give up the ship!" became a battle-cry of the Americans. As an encouragement to any person struggling in life's battles, R. M. Charlton, referring to this incident, wrote in a short poem:

"Though danger spreads her ready snare  
Your erring steps to trip,  
Remember that dead hero's prayer,  
And 'don't give up the ship.'"

Broke's boarders soon swarmed upon the deck of the *Chesapeake*, where the highest officer, not hurt, was a midshipman. A fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which Lieutenant Ludlow, before wounded, was mortally hurt by a sabre cut. Victory remained with the *Shannon*, after a most sanguinary battle, in which the Americans lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and forty-six men, and the British eighty-four. Broke immediately sailed for Halifax with his prize, and the day before his arrival (June 7, 1813), Lawrence expired. The victory was hailed with great joy by the inhabitants. England rang with shouts of exultation. An American writer

remarked, "Never did any victory—not even that of Wellington in Spain, nor those of Nelson—call forth such expression of joy on the part of the British; a proof that our naval character had risen somewhat in their estimation."

The loss of the *Chesapeake* was soon followed by another disaster. The American brig *Argus*, 32, Captain Allen, had borne to France William H. Crawford, United States minister to that government. Then she cruised in British waters, and by celerity of movement and destructive energy, she spread consternation throughout commercial England. In less than thirty days she destroyed or captured twenty British merchantmen with their cargoes, valued at two million dollars. Too far away from home to send in his prizes, Allen burnt them all, after generous treatment of their people. Several British cruisers were sent out to capture the *Argus*. Just before the dawn of the 14th of August (1813), the British sloop-of-war *Pelican*, 18, Captain Maples, attacked her. The men of the *Argus* were weakened by the too free use of captured wine the night before, and after a conflict of three-quarters of an hour, she was compelled to strike her colors. In the action, a round-shot had carried away a leg of the brave Allen, and he died the next day. The capture of the *Argus* gave great relief to the British shipping interest, at that time, for she had appeared to be invincible.

Soon afterward an American naval vessel won honor by a victory near the New England coast. The brig *Enterprise*, 14, Lieutenant Burrows, sailed out of the harbor of Portland, Maine, on the morning of the 4th of September, in search of British cruisers. The next day she encountered the British brig *Boxer*, 14, Captain Blythe. Both leaders were mortally wounded at the beginning of the conflict, and Lieutenant McCall commanded the *Enterprise* during the battle of four minutes, when the *Boxer* was surrendered. The bodies of the two young commanders were buried side by side, in a cemetery near the water's edge, at Portland, and their graves are marked by marble slabs suitably inscribed, lying upon brick foundations. Congress presented a gold medal to the nearest masculine relative of Lieutenant Burrows, and another was given to Lieutenant McCall.



## CHAPTER XII.

MARAUDING WARFARE—PLUNDER AND DESTRUCTION OF TOWNS—COCKBURN AT HAVRE-DE-GRACE—NORFOLK THREATENED—THE BRITISH REPULSED—CRUELITIES AT HAMPTON—DEPARTURE OF THE MARAUDERS—CRUISE OF COMMODORE RODGERS—FALL OF NAPOLEON—PEACE FACTION—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE PUBLIC CREDIT—DISPOSITION OF TROOPS ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS—LA COLLE MILLS—ATTACK ON OSWEGO—CAPTURE OF FORT ERIE—BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA.

DURING the spring and summer of 1813, a most distressing warfare was carried on by a small British squadron and some soldiers, under the command of Admiral Cockburn, upon the coast between Delaware Bay and Charleston Harbor. The chief object of the marauding movements appears to have been to draw American troops from the northern frontier to the defence of the seaboard, and thus lessen the danger from invasion by which Canada was continually threatened. It was a sort of amphibious warfare, carried on upon land or water as circumstances seemed to require, and it was marked by many acts of wanton cruelty and barbarity on the part of the aggressors. "Chastise the Americans into submission" was the fiat that went out from the British Cabinet toward the close of 1812, and it was determined to send out a land and naval force sufficient to do it. An order in council in December declared the ports and harbors of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays in a state of blockade. The first hostile squadron entered the capes of Virginia early in February, 1813, commanded by Sir George Cockburn, whose flag-ship was the *Marlborough*, 74. His vessels bore a land force of about eighteen hundred men, a part of them captive Frenchmen from English prisons, who preferred active life in the British service to indefinite confinement in jails. The appearance of this force alarmed all lower Virginia, and the militia of the peninsula and the region about Norfolk were soon in motion after the squadron had anchored in Hampton Roads. An order went out from the Secretary of the Treasury for the extinguishment of all the beacon-lights on the Chesapeake coast, and at Old Point Comfort a host of armed men defied the invaders. At the same time the frigate *Constellation*, 38, lying near Norfolk, was making ready to attack the British vessels, when the latter withdrew and engaged in the destruction of merchant-vessels in Chesapeake Bay.



A part of the squadron went into Delaware Bay to demand the submission of the inhabitants along its shores. When the commander sent a note to the "first magistrate" of the little town of Lewis, demanding bullocks, provender and vegetables, and threatening the destruction of the town in case of refusal, he was astonished by the answer, "We solemnly refuse to commit legal or moral treason; do your worst." The inhabitants had prepared for the invaders, and the latter found prudence to be the "better part of valor." All along the Delaware coast the militia, forewarned, were out with experienced leaders. Newcastle and Wilmington were alive with enthusiasm. At the latter place the venerable Allen McLane, of the Continental Army, took the direction of military affairs; and for some weeks the thunders of the British squadron were held back. Finally, early in April, cannon of the enemy opened on Lewis, and hurled full eight hundred shot and shell upon the town, without doing much damage. The invaders were repulsed by the militia.

Meanwhile Cockburn, who had been plundering and distressing the inhabitants along the coasts of the Chesapeake Bay, concluded to undertake more ambitious adventures. He thought of attacking Annapolis, Baltimore, and even the national capital; but the experience of the squadron in the Delaware caused him to listen to the warnings of prudence, and he only made warfare upon the little villages of Frenchtown, Georgetown, Frederick and Havre-de-Grace, on the banks of the Chesapeake, which he plundered and burned. At the latter place, situated at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, he opened a cannonade in the night, at the beginning of May, while the inhabitants were slumbering, and with his shot and shell he sent blazing Congreve rockets that set buildings on fire. Then he sent four hundred men on shore, who proceeded deliberately to plunder the dwellings and lay them in ashes. When the village was half destroyed, Cockburn went ashore himself and was met by a deputation of ladies, who had taken refuge in a large brick house some distance from the town. They entreated him to spare the remainder of the village, and he reluctantly consented to do so. When the marauders left Havre-de-Grace, the town was at least sixty thousand dollars poorer than when they came.

On the first day of June (1813), Admiral Warren entered the Chesapeake with a naval reinforcement for the marauders, bearing a large number of troops under General Sir Sidney Beckwith. The British naval force then within the capes of Virginia consisted of eight ships-of-the-line, twelve frigates, and a considerable number of smaller vessels. Their proposed first point of attack was Norfolk, then defended by the frigate *Constellation*, twenty gun-boats and four forts, besides an outpost of strong fortifications

on Craney Island, a few miles below Norfolk. The militia of that region were in the field or in garrison, under the chief command of General Robert B. Taylor; and the troops on Craney Island were led by Lieutenant Colonel Beatty. The artillery were under the charge of Major James Faulkner. The armed vessels were placed in a curved line from Craney Island to the eastern shore.



THE BRITISH AT HAVRE-DE-GRACE.

Before the dawn of the 22d of June (1813) twenty-five hundred British troops were landed on the western shore, not far from Craney Island, and, in the early morning, they crept stealthily through the underbrush of the woods, to attack the Americans. At the same time fifty large barges filled with fifteen hundred sailors and marines, were seen approaching from the ships of the enemy. They were led by Admiral Warren's beautiful barge, and made for the narrow strait between Craney Island and the main. Faulkner had his artillery well in hand, and when the enemy were within proper distance, the great guns opened a terrible storm upon them. The invaders were repulsed, and retreated in haste to their ships. Warren's barge, which had a small swivel-gun at the bow, with four others, was sunk in the shallow water, when some American seamen waded out, seized the elegant little vessel and dragged it ashore, taking with them several men as

prisoners. The British now abandoned all hope of seizing Norfolk, the *Constellation* and the navy-yard, and never attempted it afterward.

Exasperated by this repulse, the enemy fell upon the village of Hampton with fury. Early on the morning of the 25th of June, twenty-five hundred soldiers, including the French captives, landed near the village. Major Crutchfield, with a small force, fought the invaders gallantly, until the pressure of a superior number compelled him to retreat, when the British entered the village and Admiral Cockburn gave it up to pillage and rapine. Many of the inhabitants had fled up the peninsula. Those who were unable to escape became victims of horrid atrocities, especially the unprotected women. A commission appointed to investigate the matter said, in their report, "The sex, hitherto guarded by the soldier's honor, escaped not the assaults of superior force." These transactions have consigned the name of Sir George Cockburn to merited dishonor. The British officers who tried to palliate the offence by charging the crimes upon the Frenchmen, were denounced by the most respectable British writers as responsible for the shame.

Leaving Hampton, Cockburn sailed down the coast of North Carolina, plundering the inhabitants wherever opportunity offered, and carrying away a large number of slaves whom he sold in the West Indies on his private account. In pleasing contrast to Cockburn's career on our coasts, was that of Commodore Sir Thomas Hardy on the ocean borders of New England, while he was in command of a blockading squadron there. His conduct was always that of a high-minded gentleman and generous enemy. Even when he was exasperated by the attempts of private individuals to blow up his vessels with torpedoes, his forbearance from retaliation was as generous as it was humane.

We may close the record of contests on sea and land in 1813, by a notice of a remarkable cruise by Commodore Rodgers. He left Boston late in April, in the *President*, 44, accompanied by the *Congress*, 38, and sailed to the northeast in search of British vessels. For weeks he was singularly unsuccessful, not meeting with a vessel of any kind. At length his presence in British waters became known, and produced much excitement among the English shipping. Many cruisers were sent out to capture or destroy the *President* (which had parted company with the *Congress* toward the Azores); and finally, on the 23d of September, Rodgers fell in with the British armed schooner *Highflyer*, the tender to Admiral Warren's flag-ship *San Domingo*, a staunch vessel and fast sailer and commanded by Lieutenant Hutchinson, one of Cockburn's subalterns when he plundered and burned Havre-de-Grace, the home of Rodgers. By stratagem the latter decoyed the *High-*

*flyer* alongside the *President*, and captured her without firing a gun. He had obtained some British signal-books before leaving Boston, and he had caused some signals to be made on his ship. When he came in sight of the enemy he raised a British ensign, which was responded to, and a signal was also displayed from the mast-head of the *Highflyer*. Rodgers was delighted to find he possessed its complement, when he signalled that his vessel was the *Sca-Horse*, one of the largest of the British vessels of its class in American waters. The *Highflyer* bore down, hove to under the stern of the *President* and received one of Rodgers' lieutenants on board, who was dressed in the British naval uniform. He bore an order from Rodgers for Hutchinson to send his signal-books on board the *Sca-Horse* to be altered, as the Yankees, it was alleged (and truly), had obtained possession of some of them. Hutchinson obeyed, and Rodgers was put in possession of the whole correspondence of the British navy.

The commander of the *Highflyer* soon followed his signal-books, and putting into Rodgers' hands a bundle of despatches for Admiral Warren, told the commodore that the main object of the British naval chief was to capture or destroy the *President*, which had spread alarm in British waters. "What kind of a man is Rodgers?" asked the commodore, when the unsuspecting lieutenant replied: "I have never seen him, but am told he is an odd fish and hard to catch." "Sir!" said Rodgers, with emphasis that startled Hutchinson, "do you know what vessel you are on board of?" The lieutenant answered, "Why, yes sir; his Majesty's ship *Sca-Horse*." "Then sir," said Rodgers, "you labor under a mistake; you are on board the *President*, and I am Commodore Rodgers." At that moment the band struck up "Yankee Doodle" on the *President's* quarter-deck, the American ensign was displayed, and uniforms were suddenly changed from red to blue. The lieutenant was astonished and was utterly overwhelmed with shame, for he had in his possession a sword which he had stolen from Rodgers' house at Havre-de-Grace. He had been instructed not to fall into the hands of Commodore Rodgers, for, it was alleged, he would hang the lieutenant to the yard-arm, if he should catch him. But Rodgers treated Hutchinson with all the courtesy due to a prisoner-of-war, and soon afterward he released him on parole. This transaction occurred off the New England coast, and three days afterward, Rodgers entered Newport with his prize. He had captured eleven merchant-vessels and nearly three hundred prisoners. In December, Rodgers sailed on another cruise to the southward, with some success and varying fortunes, and in February (1814) he dashed through a British blockading squadron off Sandy Hook and sailed into New York harbor. In that city he was entertained at a public dinner, at which he



gave the following patriotic toast: "Peace—if it can be obtained without the sacrifice of national honor or the abandonment of maritime rights; otherwise war until peace shall be secured without the sacrifice of either."

With the close of the year 1813, the British government evinced a disposition to prosecute the war in America with greater vigor. Their vessels-of-war swarmed in American waters and kept the seaport towns in such continual alarm, that all projects for conquering Canada by the Americans was



COMMODORE RODGERS AND LIEUTENANT HUTCHINSON.

kept in abeyance for awhile, though the invasion of that province continued to be a favorite scheme of the administration. Early in 1814 the victorious career of Napoleon was checked by the allied powers of Europe. Nearly every continental government coalesced with England in efforts to crush him and to sustain the sinking Bourbon dynasty. The armies allied in a common cause, approaching from different directions, met around Paris at the close of March, 1814, and the Prussian and Russian emperors entered the French capital in triumph. Napoleon had surrendered, for he had been closely pursued by superior armies, deserted by friends, and possessed only shattered forces. Hoping to secure the crown to his son, he abdicated the throne and retired to the island of Elba, where he was allowed to reign as

sovereign, with an annual income of twelve hundred thousand dollars. Peace for Europe seemed to be secured thereby. British troops were withdrawn from the continent, and early in the summer of 1814, fourteen thousand of Wellington's veterans, fresh from the fields of the Peninsula, were sent to Canada to operate against the United States.

It was fortunate for the Americans that hitherto since war against England had been proclaimed, hostile armies were fiercely contending in Europe. Had peace reigned on that continent when *our* war first began, Great Britain might have crushed the Americans by the mere weight of military and naval numbers and metal. The Americans were excessively weak when they began the war, for political partisanship divided the nation. They were physically unprepared for any excessive strain; but as the contest went on and the people beheld clearly that not party but *justice* was the object for which the armies and navies of the United States were contending, there was more unity and consequently more moral strength. At the beginning of 1814 there were very few opponents of the war outside of the unpatriotic Peace Faction and their influence. This faction was found in much the greatest numbers in New England, where they had been very active, during 1813, in efforts to embarrass the government in carrying on the war. They upheld violators of the law and defied every principle of patriotic action by nefarious acts, until the great body of the people of New England so emphatically condemned their course that they became less and less conspicuous.

Among the mischievous enemies of the government were selfish men who secretly supplied the British blockading squadrons from our shores, and received British manufactures in pretended neutral vessels, by the sale of which enormous profits were realized. This system of public mischief had become so deplorable in its consequences, that late in 1813 the President recommended the passage of an Embargo act, shutting up American ports to ingress and egress. It was done; but almost simultaneously with the passage of the act came news of Napoleon's reverses and prospects of peace in Europe. This intelligence was soon followed by the assurance of the British government of a willingness on its part to treat for peace with the Americans; but in these assurances, there was no disposition shown on the part of that government to recede one iota from its assumption of the right of search and impressment. The language of Lord Castlereagh was that his government was willing to treat with that of the United States "upon principles of perfect reciprocity *not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law* [the 'Rule of 1756'] *and with the maritime rights of the British empire.*" Our government, sincerely anxious for peace, interpreted this

generously, and added to the commission sent abroad to treat for Russian mediation, two other members authorized to join the others and negotiate a treaty with commissioners of the British government. There were now loud clamors for a repeal of the Embargo act, and it was repealed in April, 1814.

Meanwhile as these preliminary movements did not, by any means, give full assurance of peace, our government prepared to prosecute the war as vigorously as possible, notwithstanding the finances were in a wretched condition, and the public credit was so weak that United States Treasury notes had fallen seventeen per cent below par. From the beginning the government was compelled to ask for loans, and the Peace Faction made such persistent opposition for the purpose of embarrassing the administration, that in every case a bonus had to be paid for all sums borrowed. On a loan of \$16,000,000, authorized at the beginning of 1813, the lenders received a bonus of about \$2,000,000. In March, 1814, the darkest period of the war, a loan of \$25,000,000 was authorized, when the Peace Faction at public meetings, through the newspapers and even from the pulpit, cast every possible embarrassment in the way of the government. Their opposition assumed the character of virtual treason. They violently denounced the government and those who dared to lend it money; and by inflammatory publications and personal threats, they intimidated many capitalists who were disposed to lend. The result was that not one-half of the amount of the proposed loan was obtained, and that only by the payment on \$11,400,000 of a bonus of \$2,852,000. Over the failure of the government these unpatriotic men rejoiced, and pointed to it as an evidence that the people were opposed to war. So disastrous was this attempt to loan money, that only one more of a like nature was made through the remainder of the war, the deficiency being made up by the issue of Treasury notes.

Failing to accomplish their object in full by this movement (for banks and patriotic men loaned money to the government), the Peace Faction struck another blow at the public credit, and obtained the aid of the Boston banks in giving it intensity. The banks out of New England were the principal lenders to the government, and measures were taken to drain them of their specie, and so produce an utter inability on their part to pay their subscriptions. Boston banks sent the notes of New York banks and those further south, which they held, with a demand for their redemption in specie, and at the same time drafts were drawn on the New York banks for the balances due the Boston corporations to the total amount of about \$8,000,000. A panic was created and great commercial embarrassment ensued, for banks so drained were compelled to contract their discounts. This conspiracy against the public credit was potent and ruinous in its

effects. To make the blow more intensely fatal, the conspirators made arrangements with agents of the government authorities of Lower Canada, whereby a very large amount of British government bills, drawn on Quebec, were transmitted to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and offered on such advantageous terms that capitalists were induced to purchase them. By this means an immense amount of gold was transmitted to Canada, and so placed beyond the reach of the government of the United States and put into the hands of the enemy. Had the conspirators fully succeeded the national armies must have been disbanded, and our country might have been reduced to a dependency of Great Britain.

As we have observed, the favorite project of the administration continued to be the invasion and capture of Canada. For this purpose and for defence against invasion, the greater portion of the national troops were kept on the northern frontiers. The main British army in Canada, to defend it from invasion or to make aggressive movements as circumstances might dictate, was placed under the chief command of Lieutenant-General Drummond late in 1813, and he was stationed on the Niagara frontier. The command of the American army on that frontier was given to General Jacob Brown. General Wilkinson, who, with his troops, went down the St. Lawrence and into winter-quarters at French Mills late in the preceding year, remained there until near the close of February, 1814, when he broke up his encampment and marched with a part of the troops to Plattsburg on Lake Champlain. At the same time, General Brown with two thousand men, proceeded to Sackett's Harbor, preparatory to his departure for the Niagara River. Late in March, Wilkinson erected a battery at Rouse's Point, at the foot of Lake Champlain and on the border of Canada.

Wilkinson was informed that a considerable British force was about to be gathered at La Colle Mills, three or four miles below Rouse's Point. As he was preparing for a march on Montreal, he pressed forward toward La Colle with about four thousand men, on the 30th of March, to meet the approaching foe. He found there a stone mill, with heavy walls, strongly garrisoned with British regulars under Major Hancock, and learned that reinforcements were on the way. Wilkinson attempted to dislodge them before the arrival of the reinforcements, but did not succeed; and after a sharp engagement for about two hours, the Americans withdrew. The disastrous results of this affair (a loss of sixty-three men) brought Wilkinson into disrepute; and with this event his military career was ended. He was tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he left the army. In the meantime the command of his troops had been given to General Izard.

During the winter and spring, the belligerents had been preparing to



make a struggle for the mastery of Lake Ontario; and when the ice in Kingston harbor permitted vessels to leave it, Sir James Yeo went out upon the lake with a small British squadron and a force of about three thousand land troops and marines. On the 5th of May (1814) he appeared off Oswego, which was defended by a fort on a bluff on the east side of the harbor, with a garrison of only about three hundred men under Colonel Mitchell, and a small flotilla commanded by Captain Woolsey. Chauncey was then not quite ready to leave Sackett's Harbor. The object of the British was the seizure of a large quantity of provisions and naval stores at the Falls of the Oswego River, now the village of Fulton. They effected a landing, and after a sharp fight with the little garrison in the open field, the latter retired and the enemy took possession of the fort. The experience in that contest made the invaders cautious, and they did not venture to penetrate the country in quest of the coveted prize, but withdrew early on the morning of the 7th, bearing away with them as captives several citizens to whom they had promised protection.

On the first of July, General Brown was on the eastern bank of the Niagara River, at Buffalo, with a force competent, he thought, to carry out the orders of his government to invade Canada. His two brigades of infantry were commanded, respectively, by Generals Scott and Ripley; his artillery by Captains Towson and Hindman, and his small squadron of cavalry was led by Captain S. D. Harris. These were all regulars, and well equipped and disciplined. He had also a brigade of miscellaneous troops composed of New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, and between five and six hundred Indian warriors, embracing nearly the whole military force of the Six Nations remaining in the United States. The volunteers and Indians were commanded by General Peter B. Porter.

The first aggressive movement of the Americans was on the 3d of July, when Generals Scott and Ripley crossed the Niagara River to attack Fort Erie, situated on the Canada shore at the foot of Lake Erie, opposite Buffalo. It was the chief impediment in the way of an invasion of Canada in that quarter. But that impediment was soon removed by its capture. Scott crossed the river with several regiments and a corps of artillery, before the dawn of the 3d, and was followed by General Brown and his staff. At a later hour General Ripley crossed with some regiments, and the whole force invested the fort. Then Brown demanded its surrender, and at six o'clock the same evening, the American flag waved over it, and the garrison had been sent over the river prisoners-of-war.

Prompt measures were taken to secure the advantages gained by this victory; for it was known that General Riall, who was then the chief com-

mander on that frontier and an able officer, was moving toward Fort Erie. Early that morning, on hearing of the peril that impended over the fort, he had sent forward some of the Royal Scots to reinforce the garrison. At Chippewa they heard of the capture of the fort, when Riall determined to make an immediate attack on the Americans; but hearing that reinforcements from York were near, he postponed the attack until next morning. To meet this force, General Brown sent forward General Scott, with his brigade, accom-



BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA.

panied by Townsen's artillery, on the morning of the 4th of July. Ripley was ordered in the same direction with his brigade, but it was late in the afternoon before he was prepared to move. Scott went down the Canada side of the Niagara to a place a little more than a mile from Chippewa, driving back a British advanced detachment. The main portion of Brown's army reached Scott's encampment that night, and on the morning of the 5th the two belligerent armies were not more than two miles apart.

At noon on the 5th, Scott was joined by General Porter with his volunteers and Indians, and the British had also been reinforced. For some time the two armies felt of each other, when preliminary skirmishing was begun by General Porter with marked success. The Indians behaved gallantly on that occasion. Toward evening, Riall advanced with his whole force, and a desperate battle ensued between Street's Creek and Chippewa, in full view of the Niagara River. Finally a flank movement was made by Major McNeil with Campbell's regiment, and a terrific fire from a corps under Major Jesup, in the centre, made the British line give way. It broke and fled in haste toward the intrenchments below Chippewa Creek. The fugitives tore up the bridge over the creek that was behind them, leaving an impassable chasm between themselves and the Americans. The battle-field (opposite

the foot of Navy Island) was strewn with the dead and the dying. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, three hundred and fifty-five men. The British had lost by the same casualties, six hundred and four men, of whom two hundred and thirty-six were killed.

The horrors of that battle-field, on that hot July evening, were mitigated by a gentle shower of rain that came like a descending angel of mercy at the close of the conflict. Many a feverish lip was moistened by it, and many a throbbing temple was cooled. All night long the wounded of both armies were tenderly cared for, and the dead were speedily buried in shallow graves. Scott was eager to pursue, but was compelled to await the tardy movements of Ripley, who did not arrive in time to participate in the action and to join in a pursuit.

There was joy in the camp of the Americans that night, for they had gained a decisive and important victory—more important in its immediate results, perhaps, than any which had preceded it. The Indian allies of the British were disheartened. Their disaffection, begun at the Thames, was now complete. Nearly all the savages who had terrified the frontiers wherever there were military operations, now left the British army and returned to their homes. The victory also greatly inspirited the Americans, and recruiting became so active that almost any number of men might have been added to the army. It also gained for our American soldiers more of the genuine respect of the enemy than they had ever received; and it subdued the clamors of the mischievous Peace Faction.



## CHAPTER XIII.

EFFECTS OF THE BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA—MOVEMENTS OF THE TWO ARMIES—BATTLE OF NIAGARA FALLS—ATTACK ON FORT ERIE—A SUCCESSFUL SORTIE—THE AMERICANS ABANDON CANADA—NAVIES ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN—INVASION OF NORTHERN NEW YORK—BATTLES ON LAND AND WATER AT PLATTSBURG—EVENTS ON LAKE ONTARIO—EXPEDITION AGAINST MACKINAW—McARTHUR'S RAID—THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS BLOCKADED—BOSTON AND NEW YORK FORTIFIED BY THE PEOPLE—BRITISH REPULSED AT STONINGTON—THEIR DOINGS ON THE PENOBSCOT.

UNTIL after the battle of Chippewa, English writers had indulged in sneers when alluding to our soldiers; and one of the most popular of the light theatrical performances in London was one in which the characters representing our military leaders were promoted tailors shoemakers, etc. After that battle, in which an inferior number of Americans had won a decisive victory over British troops, the tone of British writers was changed. "The important fact is," wrote an English author, "that we have now got an enemy who fights as bravely as ourselves. For some time the Americans cut no figure on land. They have now proved to us that they only wanted time to acquire a little discipline. They have now proved to us what they are made of; that they are the same sort of men as those who captured whole armies under Burgoyne and Cornwallis; that they are neither to be frightened nor silenced."

General Brown was impatient to pursue the discomfited army, for he expected Chauncey, with a squadron at the mouth of the Niagara River, to co-operate with him. Much of the next and following days was spent in burying the dead and caring for the wounded; but before the morning of the 8th, a part of Brown's army had crossed the Chippewa in boats. Riall fled down the Niagara River to Queenstown, put some of his troops into Forts George and Mississauga, and established his head-quarters near the lake twenty miles westward. Drummond was mortified by this discomfiture of his veteran troops by what he deemed to be raw Americans, and he resolved to wipe out the stain. He drew most of the troops from York and Burlington Bay, Kingston and Prescott, with a determination to renew the conflict and drive the Americans out of Canada. With a force about one-third greater than that of Brown, he soon advanced to meet the invaders.



Meanwhile Brown, with his whole army, had pushed on to Queenstown and threatened Fort George. There he anxiously waited many days for the arrival of Chauncey's fleet, when, on the 22d of July, he received word that the commander was sick at Sackett's Harbor and his squadron was blockaded there. Abandoning all hope of co-operation from the navy, he ordered the army to fall back to the battle-ground of Chippewa, when their future movements would be governed by circumstances. They did not rest long, for on the 24th the alarming intelligence reached General Brown that Drummond had landed on the eastern shore of the Niagara River below Queenstown with a thousand troops, many of them Wellington's veterans; that a considerable British force occupied Queenstown, and that Riall had joined Drummond with his shattered regiments and a body of loyal Canadians.

Drummond had landed at Lewiston, opposite Queenstown, and Brown suspected his intention to be to seize the American stores at Schlosser. Impressed with this idea, he ordered Scott to march rapidly, with a part of the army, and menace the forts at the mouth of the Niagara River. Toward evening, Scott pushed on with his brigade, Towson's artillery and some mounted men, and saw some British officers leave a house at the verge of the great fall, leap into their saddles and ride rapidly away. Scott, believing only a remnant of the British army were near, dashed into the woods to disperse them, when he found Riall there with a larger force than he had at Chippewa. The peril of the American detachment was extreme. To stand still would be fatal; to retreat would be very hazardous, for it might create a panic in the main army and demoralize the whole. So Scott instantly resolved to fight the overwhelming force; and at sunset a desperate battle was begun, which ended at near midnight.

The British line which Scott encountered was eighteen hundred strong, posted in a slightly crescent form upon an eminence over which Lundy's Lane passed, and on which they had planted a battery. The quick eye of Scott soon discerned a blank between the enemy's left and the river; and he ordered Major Jesup, with his command, to crawl cautiously in the evening twilight through the underbrush that covered the space and turn the British left flank. Jesup obeyed, and was successful. He gained the British rear, and kept back reinforcements sent by Drummond. Meanwhile Scott was hotly engaged with Riall; and General Brown, when apprised of the situation by the booming of great guns and by messengers from the front, had pressed on with his whole army to the conflict. He perceived the key of the enemy's position to be their battery on the hill. Turning to Colonel James Miller of the Twenty-seventh, General Brown asked: "Can you

storm that work and take it?" Miller instantly replied, "I'll try." With three hundred men he moved stealthily up the hill in the darkness, along a fence shrouded in luxuriant bushes that hid them from the view of the gunners and their protectors who lay near. When within short musket-range of the battery, they could see the gunners, with their glowing lint-stocks, ready to act at the word fire. Selecting good marksmen, Miller directed each to rest his rifle on the fence, select a gunner, and fire at a given signal. They did so. The gunners fell, and Miller and his men rushed forward and captured the battery before the troops, stationed for its protection, could resist.

Miller's gallant exploit secured a victory, not, however, until a terrible hand-to-hand fight had ensued. The British finally fell back. They attempted to retake the battery of some splendid brass cannon, but failed, even after being reinforced by fifteen hundred men sent forward by Drummond from Queenstown. Meanwhile General Scott had been fighting desperately, but successfully, and was severely wounded by a musket-ball in his shoulder. General Brown was also severely wounded, and the command devolved on General Ripley. The British were repulsed and the Americans fell back to Chippewa, with orders from General Brown to return after a brief rest, before the dawn, and occupy the battle-field. The always tardy and disobedient Ripley failed to obey the order, and the enemy returned and took possession of the field and also of their battery, excepting one piece of artillery. This conflict is known in history as the battle of Niagara Falls, for it was fought within the sound of the sullen roar of the great cataract. It has also been called the battle of Bridgewater and the battle of Lundy's Lane. It was fought by about four thousand five hundred British troops, and two thousand six hundred Americans. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, nearly one-third of their whole number; the British lost about eight hundred and seventy-eight, or twenty-six more than the Americans. Both parties claimed the victory.

General Ripley, whose tardiness deprived the Americans of the advantages of a glorious victory they had won, led the army to Fort Erie, where he was soon superseded in command by General Gaines. Drummond, who had been wounded, pushed forward as soon as he was able, and on the 4th of August, began a siege of Fort Erie with about five thousand men. From the 7th to the 14th of that month there was an almost incessant cannonade between the besiegers and the besieged. On the evening of the 14th, just at twilight, a shell from a British mortar came screaming into the American camp, lodged in a nearly empty powder magazine and blew it up. Drummond, supposing he had fired one of the principal magazines, and believing

the camp and garrison to be in great confusion, determined to assail the fort in full force. Before the dawn of the 15th, fifteen hundred of the enemy furiously attacked the American lines, and after desperate fighting they gained a bastion of the fort. At all other points they were repulsed. To this stronghold the enemy held with tenacity, until the bastion was blown up with a terrific explosion. A jet of flame mingled with fragments of earth and timber, stones and the bodies of men, rose to the height of more than a hundred feet, and spread a shower of ruins to a great distance. Soon afterward the British broke and fled, and victory remained with the Americans.



FORT ERIE BASTION BLOWN UP.

For a month after this affair, both parties prepared to renew the struggle for the possession of Fort Erie. General Brown had recovered, and was in command of his army again. The fort was closely invested by the British; but Drummond's force, lying upon low ground, was greatly weakened by typhoid fever. Hearing of this, Brown determined to make a sortie from the fort. He did so on the 17th of September, and after a severe engagement (in which General Porter was the chief actor, and James Miller, then promoted to brigadier-general, bore a conspicuous part), the British advance works were captured and destroyed. Fort Erie was saved, and the enemy were driven back to Chippewa with a loss of about nine hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. "Thus," General Brown wrote to the Secretary of War, "one thousand regulars, and an equal proportion of militia, in one hour of close action, blasted the hopes of the enemy, destroyed the

fruits of fifty days' labor, and diminished his effective force one thousand men at least." So sudden and precipitate was Drummond's flight, that he abandoned some of his stores in front of Fort Erie and destroyed others on the line of his retreat. This victory, following so closely on that at Chippewa and Niagara Falls, and occurring a few days after another won at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain by the Americans, and the expulsion of the British from Baltimore, diffused unusual joy throughout the country, and dispelled, in a measure, the gloom which had recently overspread the whole land because of the capture of the national capital by the enemy. General Brown was highly honored by Congress and the people. The former gave him thanks and a gold medal; and Scott, Ripley, Porter and Gaines received the same reward for their services during that campaign.

General George Izard, the successor of Wilkinson and Hampton in command of the army in Northern New York, who had led about five thousand troops first to Sackett's Harbor and then to the Niagara frontier, arrived at the latter in October, and, ranking Brown, took the chief command. The combined forces, regulars, militia and volunteers, numbered about eight thousand men. With these Izard was preparing to march against Drummond, when the latter prudently withdrew his troops to Fort George and Burlington Heights. Perceiving that further offensive operations on the Canadian peninsula would be imprudent, perhaps perilous, Izard blew up Fort Erie on the 5th of November, and it has lain in ruins ever since. He abandoned Canada, and the troops were wintered at several points in the State of New York.

When General Izard marched from Plattsburg for Sackett's Harbor in August, he left his troops that remained on the borders of Lake Champlain (nearly fifteen hundred in number) under the command of General Alexander Macomb. During the spring and summer, both parties had been busy in the preparation of war-vessels on that lake, and the command of the American squadron was held by Captain Thomas Macdonough. Many of Wellington's troops, as we have observed, had arrived in Canada. There were about fifteen thousand of them at Montreal at the close of August, and Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada and general-in-chief, proceeded to invade New York. A requisition had been made by Izard for militia and light dragoons; and Macomb found himself in command of about three thousand five hundred troops at the beginning of September. These he conducted to Plattsburg, in anticipation of the threatened invasion.

Prevost advanced at the head of about fourteen thousand troops, to a point eight miles from Plattsburg; and at the same time the British squadron, under Captain Pringle, moved out of the Sorel into Lake Champlain.



Prevost announced his intention to seize and hold Northern New York as far down as Ticonderoga, and he called upon the inhabitants to cast off their allegiance and furnish him with supplies. Meanwhile Macomb bent all his energies in preparation for a defence of the menaced region. He had completed redoubts and block-houses at Plattsburg, to prevent the invaders crossing the Saranac River. General Benjamin Mooers, in command of the militia, had been very active at the same time; and when Prevost advanced, he was at the head of about five thousand men.



REPULSE AT THE STONE MILL.

On the morning of the 6th of September, the British moved upon Plattsburg in two columns. One column had a severe skirmish near Beekmantown, with regulars and militia under Captain Wool. The latter were compelled to fall back to Plattsburg; and other detachments sent out by Macomb were forced back by an overwhelming number of the enemy. The Americans retired to the south side of the Saranac, tearing up the bridges behind them and using the timbers for breastworks. The British tried to force their way across the stream, when they were repulsed by a small company of volunteers in a stone mill near the site of the lower bridge, who poured sharp volleys of musketry upon them. Prevost saw that his invasion was not to be a pleasant holiday affair, and he employed the time from the

7th until the 11th in bringing up his batteries and supply trains and constructing works to command those of the Americans on the south side of the Saranac. Meanwhile the British naval force, under Commodore Downie, had approached Cumberland Head. The flag-ship was the frigate *Confiance*, 38, which was assisted by one brig, two sloops, and twelve gun-boats. Macdonough's squadron lay in Plattsburg Bay. His flag-ship was the *Saratoga*, 26, which was assisted by one brig, two schooners, and ten gun-boats or galleys.

On the morning of the 11th, the British came round Cumberland Head with a fair wind, and at the same time the land forces of the enemy were moving for a combined attack upon the Americans on land and water. The battle was opened by the navy. Macdonough (then thirty-one years of age) had skillfully prepared his forces to meet the enemy. When his vessels were cleared for action, he knelt upon the deck of the *Saratoga*, near one of her heaviest guns, and with his chief officers around him, implored the aid of the Almighty. Very soon afterward the thunders of cannon boomed over the lake, and a sharp naval conflict was begun. At the outset, a shot from a British vessel demolished a hen-coop on board the *Saratoga*, when a young game-cock, which the sailors had brought from the shore, released from confinement and startled by the sound of the great guns, flew up on a gun-slide, and, flapping its wings, crowed lustily and defiantly. The incident was regarded by the sailors as ominous of victory, and thereby their courage was strengthened. In a rhyming *Epistle of Brother Jonathan to Johnny Bull*, written at the close of the war, is the following allusion to this event:

“O, Johnny Bull, my Joe, John,  
Behold on Lake Champlain,  
With more than equal force, John,  
You tried your fist again;  
But the cock saw how 'twas going,  
And cried cock-a-doodle-doo!  
And Macdonough was victorious  
O, Johnny Bull, my Joe.”

This naval battle lasted two hours and twenty minutes, and ended with victory for the Americans. The vessels were dreadfully shattered. “There was not a mast in either squadron,” Macdonough wrote, “that could stand to make a sail on.” “Our masts, yards and sails, were so shattered,” wrote one of the officers of the *Confiance*, “that one looked like so many bundles of matches, and the other like so many bundles of rags.” The sight of the conflict was sublime, and it was witnessed by hundreds of spectators on the headlands of the Vermont shore. The loss of the Americans was one hun-

dred and ten; that of the British was over two hundred. Among the British slain was Commodore Downie, whose remains were buried at Plattsburg.

While the battle was raging on the water, there was a sharp conflict on land. When the British squadron came around Cumberland Head, the British army moved forward and attempted to force their way across the Saranac at the sites of the two bridges. After a desperate but short conflict, with varying fortunes for both parties, the British were repulsed by the gallant men led by Macomb and Mooers. The Americans were driving back some of the enemy who had forced their way across the river near the site of the upper bridge, when tidings came that the British fleet had just surrendered. The Americans gave hearty cheers, and the enemy wavered. Prevost was disheartened by the disaster to the navy, and, naturally timid in the presence of danger, saw with alarm the gathering of the neighboring militia, who threatened his flanks and rear. He ceased fighting at twilight, and prepared for a retreat. At a little past midnight he fled in such haste toward Canada, that he left his sick and wounded and a vast amount of stores behind. Light troops, militia and volunteers, started in pursuit, but heavy rains compelled them to give up the chase. The British loss, in killed, wounded and deserted, from the 6th to the 11th, was about twenty-five hundred men; that of the Americans, only one hundred and twenty. Throughout the land the victory was applauded with the greatest enthusiasm, and Macomb and Macdonough were highly honored, each having a gold medal awarded to him by Congress.

With the flight of Prevost and his army from Lake Champlain ended the military movements of importance on the northern frontier. Hostilities soon afterward ceased, as we have observed, on the Niagara frontier; and during a greater portion of the season Commodore Chauncey, one of the most vigilant and active of naval officers, had been compelled by circumstances to remain almost inactive at Sackett's Harbor. He was blockaded by a British squadron; and when he was ready to go out and fight the blockaders, by having the armament of a large vessel completed, he was prostrated by severe illness. It was the last of July before his squadron was fully ready for sea. On the 31st of that month he was carried, in a convalescent state on board of his flag-ship, the *Superior*, and the squadron sailed out on a cruise. It blockaded the harbor of Kingston, and Chauncey vainly tried to draw Sir James Yeo out for combat. At the close of September, Chauncey was informed that the *St. Lawrence*, a frigate pierced for one hundred and twelve guns, which had been built at Kingston, was ready for sea, when the commodore prudently raised the blockade and returned to

Sackett's Harbor. The *St. Lawrence* sailed in October with more than a thousand men, accompanied by other vessels-of-war; and with his big ship, Sir James was really lord of the lake. The Americans determined to match the *St. Lawrence*, and the keels of two first-class frigates were laid. One of them, the *New Orleans*, began at Sackett's Harbor and partly finished when peace came early in 1815, may yet be seen housed on the stocks as she was left by the builders more than sixty years ago. Chauncey expected Yeo would attack his squadron in the Harbor, but he did not; and when frost had closed the lake, the war ended on the northern frontier.

We have observed that the military-station on the island of Mackinaw was captured by the British just before the fall of Detroit in 1812. This station was the key to the vast fur-trade of the Northwest, and a land and naval expedition was planned, in the spring of 1814, for its recapture. A little squadron under Commander St. Clair, and a land force led by Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan of Fort Stephenson fame, were prepared, and they left Detroit at the beginning of July. A part of this force proceeded against the post of the Northwest Fur Company, at the Falls of St. Mary, the agents of which were among the most active of the British emissaries in inciting the Indians to make war on the Americans. When the armament appeared before the post, the keepers of it fled. Everything valuable that could not be carried away was destroyed, when the whole expedition started for Mackinaw. The post there was too strongly garrisoned to be taken by this small American force, and after an attempt to do so, the enterprise was abandoned. Some vessels of the squadron cruised in those waters for a time, and after some exciting experiences the expedition returned to Detroit late in August, 1814. No further military movements were undertaken in that region afterward, excepting a terrifying raid which General McArthur, with about seven hundred mounted men from Kentucky and Ohio, made through western Canada, to create a diversion in favor of the American army on the Niagara frontier. It was one of the boldest operations of the war, on land. McArthur skurried throughout the region from the western end of Lake Ontario to the Detroit River, destroying property that might benefit the enemy, frightening the people everywhere, and keeping the militia from joining Drummond's ranks.

While the events recorded in this chapter were securing the northern frontiers of the Union, and the general results were inspiring to the Americans, there was uneasiness, confusion, and alarm along the Atlantic seaboard, in consequence of the presence of British blockading squadrons and menacing fleets. New England had experienced very little of actual war within its borders so far, yet it felt its pressure heavily in the paralysis of



its peculiar industries, the continued drain upon its wealth of men and money, and the wasting excitement caused by continually impending menaces and a sense of insecurity. From the spring of 1813 to the close of the contest, British squadrons were hovering along its coasts, and, in connection with the Embargo acts, were double-barring its seaports against commerce, and threatening the destruction of its maritime cities and villages.

The year 1814 was a peculiarly trying one for New England. The blockade of New London, began in 1813, was kept up until the close of the war. In the spring of 1814, Commodore Lewis appeared in Long Island Sound with thirteen American gun-boats, to protect the coast trade of Connecticut against British privateers. He convoyed merchant-vessels safely into the Thames, and he boldly attacked the blockading squadron there. Early in June, British vessels began depredations on the coast of Massachusetts, under an order issued by Admiral Cochrane to "destroy the seaport towns and devastate the country." At Wareham, on Buzzard's Bay, they destroyed vessels and other property valued at \$40,000. In the same month despoilers appeared on the coast of Maine. Fifty armed men, in five large barges, entered the Saco River and destroyed property to the amount of about \$20,000. New Bedford and Fair Haven were threatened by British cruisers; and an unsuccessful attempt was made by the commanders of two blockaders there, to destroy the last-named village and seize the fort on the point, then commanded by Lieutenant Selleck Osborne, the poet. Formidable squadrons blockaded the Delaware, New York, New London, and Boston. Eastport and Castin, in Maine, were captured by the British; and Stonington, a little east of New London, became the scene of stirring events.

Early in July (1814) Sir Thomas M. Hardy sailed from Halifax with a considerable force for service on sea and land, in accordance with the orders of Cochrane. The country from Passamaquoddy Bay to the Penobscot speedily passed under British rule, and continued so until the end of the war. After capturing Eastport, Hardy sailed westward and threatened Portsmouth and other places, and an attack upon Boston was confidently expected. That city was almost defenceless, and would have offered a rich harvest for plunderers. It was the place where ships were built for the war; and being the capital of New England, its capture would have a moral effect much to be desired by the enemy. When real danger impended, the inhabitants were aroused to intense action, and men of all classes were seen with implements of labor working daily in the construction of a strong fort on Noddles' Island, now East Boston. "I remember," wrote one of the eye-witnesses, "the venerable Dr. Lathrop with the deacons and elders of his

church, each shouldering his shovel and doing yeoman's service in digging, shoveling, and carrying sods in wheel-barrows." The fort was soon built on an elevation (on the crown of the present Webster street, near Belmont square, East Boston), and a heavy battery was planted on Dorchester Heights. Informed of these preparations and the enthusiasm of the people, the British blockading squadron did not venture to enter the harbor of Boston.



CITIZENS AT WORK ON FORTIFICATIONS.

New York was equally excited, when news came of the operations of a powerful British squadron in Chesapeake Bay. This city was, like Boston, almost defenceless. De Witt Clinton, then mayor, issued a stirring appeal to the citizens, and there, too, men of every rank in society worked daily in building fortifications at Brooklyn and Harlem. Members of various churches and of social and benevolent organizations went out in groups, as such, to the patriotic task; so also did different craftsmen under their respective banners, such as were described as follows, by Samuel Woodworth: "Plumbers, founders, dyers, tinnerns, tanners, shavers, sweeps, clerks and criers, jewellers, engravers, clothiers, drapers, players, cartmen, hatters, tailors, gaugers, sealers, weighers, carpenters, and sailors."

The enthusiasm of the people was intense, and New York was soon well defended by fortifications and numerous militia. The citizens then felt secure, and Woodworth concluded a stirring poem with these lines addressed to the British:

“Better not invade; recollect the spirit  
Which our dads displayed and their sons inherit.  
If you still advance, friendly caution slighting,  
You may get, by chance, a belly-full of figating.  
Pick-axe, shovel, spade, crowbar, hoe and barrow,—  
Better not invade; Yankees have the marrow.”

Hardy rejoined the blockading squadron off the mouth of the Thames and proceeded to execute Cochrane's terrible order, yet with reluctance on his part, for he was a humane officer. Great Britain had determined to make the war sharp and decisive, and this order to injure innocent people was a part of the plan. On the 9th of August, Hardy appeared before Stonington with three large vessels and a bomb-ship. He sent word to the magistrates of the borough that he intended to destroy the village, and gave the inhabitants one hour in which to leave it. He would grant no alternative, and the magistrates replied: “We shall defend the place to the last extremity; should it be destroyed, we will perish in its ruins.” Nearly all the inhabitants incapable of bearing arms left the place, and that evening the bomb-ship *Terror* and some launches rained shells and rockets upon the village without doing serious damage.

During that bombardment some bold spirits in Stonington cast up a sort of redoubt on the extremity of the peninsula on which the borough stands, and placed upon it, in battery, 6-pound and 18-pound iron cannon; and from these they hurled solid balls upon the assailants with so much effect, that the bomb-ship and her consorts withdrew to the larger vessels. Some men gathered at Stonington the next day, but they were of little service; but a few brave men from Mystic, led by Captain Jeremiah Holmes, flew to the aid of their neighbors, and did gallant service at the redoubt. Captain Holmes, who was a good gunner, took charge of the 18-pounder, and with it he fought the ships of the enemy until his ammunition was exhausted and no more could be found. Then the borough seemed to be completely at the mercy of the invaders, and some timid citizens proposed to the captain to haul down the American flag that floated over the battery and surrender. “No!” shouted the captain, “that flag shall never come down while I am alive!” and it did not, in submission to a foe. When the wind died away and it hung drooping by the side of the staff, the brave captain held out the flag at the point of a bayonet that the British might see it.

While it was in that position, several shots passed through it. To prevent its being struck by some coward, the captain nailed it to the staff.

The old cannon was not long silent. Some powder was found in a place of concealment. Double-shotting his piece, the captain kept the enemy at bay until a competent force of militia, under General Isham, were collected to prevent the British landing; and on the 12th, after a sharp bombardment, the blockading squadron, discomfited, withdrew. Not a single life had been lost in the village during the assault, and but one person was mortally and fifty or sixty were slightly wounded. About forty buildings were more or less injured, and two or three were nearly ruined.



HOLDING UP THE FLAG.

We have observed that the region between Passamaquoddy Bay and the Penobscot was seized and held by the British. That was after Hardy captured Eastport. A strong squadron under Admiral Griffith, bearing about four thousand troops led by Governor Sherbrooke of Nova Scotia, captured Castin on Penobscot Bay and also Belfast, and went up the Penobscot River to Hampden, a few miles below Bangor, to capture or destroy the American corvette *John Adams*, which, caught in that stream, had gone up so far to escape from the enemy. The militia along the Penobscot gathered at the call of General John Blake, who, with the cannon of the *Adams* posted on a hill, prepared to defend the vessel and the country. But when the British troops landed at Hampden, the militia broke

and fled. The *Adams* was burned by her commander, Captain Morris, and the troops after taking possession of the village, pushed on to Bangor. There, in the course of a stay of about thirty hours, they destroyed several vessels, plundered the inhabitants of property valued at over \$20,000, and retired to Hampden to repeat this conduct there. Then the troops and fleet descended the Penobscot and, after capturing Machias, returned to Halifax, leaving General Gosselin at Castin to hold the country, which he did with dignity and humanity.



## CHAPTER XIV.

THREATENED DANGERS UNHEEDED—WEAKNESS OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL—TARDINESS OF THE GOVERNMENT—BARNEY'S FLOTILLA—PREPARATIONS TO DEFEND THE CAPITAL—BATTLE AT BLADENSBURG—FLIGHT OF CIVIL OFFICERS—MRS. MADISON—DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY AT WASHINGTON—ALEXANDRIA PLUNDERED—THE BRITISH BEFORE BALTIMORE—BATTLE OF NORTH POINT—BOMBARDMENT OF FORT McHENRY—REPULSE OF THE BRITISH—"THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER"—NAVAL OPERATIONS—PRIVATEERS—CHANGE IN THE THEATRE OF OPERATIONS.

WHILE the stirring events just mentioned were occurring on the northern frontier and the New England coast, others of equal importance took place in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay and the national capital. The Americans had premonition of a determination on the part of the British government to prosecute the war with great vigor. Tokens of danger to the region alluded to were not wanting. First came intelligence, late in January, 1814, that four thousand British troops destined for the United States had landed at Bermuda. This news was followed by the appearance of Admiral Cockburn again in Lynn Haven Bay at the beginning of March, with a strong naval force, to recommence the work laid out by Admiral Cochrane's order to "destroy the seaport towns and ravage the country." At the close of April, a ship from Europe brought an account of the downfall of Napoleon, and soon afterward came the announcement of his abdication, which would probably release a large British force for service in America—a fact that was speedily made manifest in Canada, as we have seen.

At that time the national capital was not prepared for defence against an invasion by land or water. The passage of ships up the Potomac might be disputed only by the guns of Fort Washington on the Maryland side of the river, a few miles below Washington city; but there was little to obstruct the passage of a land force across Maryland from the Chesapeake. On the first of July official intelligence reached the President that "a fleet of transports, with a large force, bound to some port of the United States, probably on the Potomac," was about to sail from Bermuda. In the fourth military district of which the District of Columbia formed a part,

there were only a little more than two thousand effective men under General Winder, and these were scattered at points distant from each other, some as far away as Norfolk. Besides these, there were a company of marines at the barracks in Washington, and a company of artillery in Fort Washington. With a knowledge of this weakness, and the positive signs of impending danger, the government could not be persuaded that the capital would receive any harm. The government organ (*National Intelligencer*) boastingly declared, "We have no idea of the enemy attempting to reach the vicinity of the capes; and if he does, we have no doubt he will meet with such a reception as he had a sample of at Craney Island. The enemy knows better than to trust himself abreast of or on this side of Fort Washington." The folly of this overweening confidence was soon made conspicuous by sad events.

General Winder continually warned the government of danger, and called loudly for troops; and when danger was apparent to the authorities, he was placed, by official orders, at the head of fifteen thousand militia for the defence of the capital. But there was extraordinary tardiness everywhere. The militia lay hidden in official orders; and when, at the middle of August, a powerful British land and naval force appeared in Chesapeake Bay, and there was widespread alarm over Maryland and Virginia, Winder had only a handful of men with whom to defend the capital.

At that juncture Commodore Barney, with an armed schooner and thirteen armed barges, was in the Patuxent River. He had been chased out of Chesapeake Bay and blockaded. The flotilla went far up the Patuxent, out of reach of British vessels, to a position where its men might assist either Baltimore or Washington, whichever city the enemy should decide to attack. The British determined to capture or destroy this flotilla, and for that purpose more than five thousand regulars, marines and negroes, were landed at Benedict, with three cannon. The British commander boasted that they should wipe out Barney's force, and dine in Washington city the next Sunday. This determination of the enemy being known, great exertions were put forth for the defence of the capital. The obstinate Secretary of War (Armstrong), who had disregarded Winder's warnings, now gave him full authority to exercise his judgment in the matter of defending the capital. Winder called upon General Smith of Baltimore to bring out his division of militia, and General Van Ness was requested to station two brigades of the militia of the District of Columbia at Alexandria. He also called for volunteers from all the militia districts of Maryland. These measures the alarmed Secretary of War approved, and General Smith promptly responded.

Meanwhile the British had pressed forward in barges in pursuit of Barney, who blew up his flotilla at Pig Point, and with his soldiers hastened to the head-quarters of Winder. Finding the American flotilla a smoking ruin, General Ross, the commander of the British land forces and one of the most active of Wellington's officers, marched to Upper Marlborough with the troops, where a road led directly to Washington city, leaving Cockburn in charge of the British flotilla. To oppose this strong force Winder had less than three thousand effective men, most of them undisciplined; and he prudently retreated toward Washington, followed by Ross (who had been joined by Cockburn and his seamen), on the afternoon of the 23d. The British encamped that night within ten miles of the capital, where great excitement prevailed and sleepless watching by soldiers and civilians was the rule. Uncertain whether Washington city or Fort Washington was the destination of the foe, Winder had left a force near Bladensburg, about four miles from the capital, and with other troops he watched the highways leading in other directions.

The President and his cabinet did not sleep that night, and on the morning of the 24th, while Winder was in consultation with them, a courier came in great haste to tell them that the British were marching on Bladensburg. Winder immediately sent troops to join those already there, and he speedily followed in person. His little army was evidently in great peril, for the invaders had overwhelming numbers. He must either fight or surrender, for to retreat would be equally perilous. He chose to fight, and at a little past noon a sharp battle began in sight of the village of Bladensburg. The militia soon broke and fled in confusion; and the brave Barney and his gallant men, who stood fire, sustained the brunt of the battle until that leader was severely wounded, when Winder, seeing no sign of a hope of winning a victory, ordered a general retreat. The troops which had not already dispersed, retreated toward Montgomery Court-House, in Maryland, leaving the battle-field in possession of the invaders. The latter had gained the advantage at the fearful cost of the loss of more than five hundred men in killed and wounded, among them several officers of distinction. The battle lasted almost four hours, when it was ended and the retreat began. President Madison, Secretary of State Monroe, Secretary of War Armstrong and other civil officers, who went out to see the fight and give assistance if possible, hastened back to the city as fast as fleet horses could carry them, and were the pioneers of a considerable multitude who followed. This race created much merriment afterward, especially among the opposition. A writer in a New York newspaper said: "Should some Walter Scott [his *Marmion* was then very popular] in the next century write a poem and call

it *Madison, or the Battle of Bladensburg*, we should suggest the following lines for the conclusion :

"Fly, Monroe, fly ! run, Armstrong, run !  
Were the last words of Madison."

The President and his party of fugitives announced the startling intelligence that the British, victorious, were probably marching on



MRS. DOLLY PAYNE MADISON.

the town. Mrs. Madison, at the White House, had already been apprised of danger, by a messenger sent by her husband, when the militia fled. She had ordered her carriage to be at the door ready for flight, and had sent away to a place of safety silver-plate and other valuable articles. While anxiously waiting for her husband, and at the moment when she had cut out of the frame, for preservation, a full length portrait of Washington by Stuart, the late Jacob Barker and another gentleman entered the house and bade her fly, for the enemy were near. "Save that picture!" she said, as it lay prone upon the floor; "save or destroy it, but do not let it fall into the hands of the British." Then snatching up the precious parchment on which the Declaration of Independence was written, and which contained the names of the fifty-six signers of that document,

she entered her carriage with her sister and one or two others, and was borne away to a place of safety beyond the Potomac. The picture was saved, and it now adorns one of the reception-rooms in the White House.

The British entered Washington on the evening of the 24th (August, 1814), and at once proceeded to plunder and destroy. The Capitol, President's house, Treasury buildings, Arsenal and barracks were burned, and of the public buildings only the Patent-office was saved. Some private houses



were plundered and others were burned. While these buildings were blazing in the city, the public vessels and other government property at the Navy-Yard were in flames, for Commodore Tingey, who was in command there, had been ordered to destroy this property in case it was likely to fall into the hands of the invaders. The value of the property destroyed by the Americans and British at that time, was estimated at about two million



SAVING THE PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

dollars. Right-minded Englishmen deplored the barbarism of their troops in burning the national buildings. "Willingly," said the London *Statesman* newspaper, "would we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America." While the people of England loudly condemned the act, the British government caused the tower-guns to be fired in honor of Ross's victory; and on his death a few weeks later, his government decreed him a monument in Westminster Abbey.

The events at Washington caused intense excitement throughout the country. The disaster was followed by another humiliating occurrence, and then by a glorious triumph. While Ross was crossing Maryland to the national capital a part of the British fleet, under Commodore Gordon, had gone up the Potomac River, and in defiance of the guns of Fort Washington, appeared before Alexandria on the evening of the 27th. Meanwhile the British at Washington, apprehending a large gathering of the militia, had stolen away from the capital very secretly on the night of the 25th, and re-embarked on their transports. Alexandria was almost defenceless; and when Gordon demanded an enormous amount of property as a ransom for the doomed city from destruction, the town and its inhabitants were at the mercy of the invaders. The inhabitants were allowed only an hour to consider the terms. Of course they had to submit; and the British squadron sailed down the river with a large amount of plunder, annoyed some of the way by the batteries planted on the shores.

While Washington was suffering, Baltimore was threatened. Indeed all the shores of the Chesapeake Bay were menaced with plunder and devastation. After resting and recruiting several days at the mouth of the Patuxent, the British sailed for the mouth of the Patapsco River, on the banks of which Baltimore stands, ten miles from the Chesapeake. The fleet spread terror along the entire coasts of the bay, the people fleeing from their dwellings; and at every light-house and signal-station alarm-guns were fired. On Sunday, the 11th of September, the British vessels appeared off Patapsco Bay, having at least six thousand fighting men on board; and victorious Ross boasted that he would make Baltimore his winter-quarters. It was a city of forty thousand inhabitants at that time. It had sent out so many clipper-built vessels as privateers, that the British held a grudge against the place, and resolved to capture or destroy it.

The citizens of Baltimore, wiser than those of some other places, had cast up defences before the enemy were at their doors. When they heard of the capture of Washington, they turned out in force to strengthen these defences. A large number of troops were gathered around the city. Fort McHenry, that commands the harbor, was garrisoned by about a thousand men, under Major Armistead, and was supported by redoubts. Such were the preparations for receiving the enemy, who, that evening (September 11, 1814,) appeared off Patapsco Bay, and before sunrise on the 12th had landed, nine thousand strong, at North Point, twelve miles from Baltimore. At the same time the fleet entered the harbor to attack Fort McHenry. When news came that the British were landing on North Point, General Smith, who had about nine thousand men under his command, sent

General Stricker, with more than three thousand of them, to watch the enemy and act as circumstances might require.

Feeling confident of success, Ross and Cockburn were riding gayly in front of their troops, who were marching on Baltimore, when a rifle-ball from a small number of Stricker's advance troops, concealed in a hollow, mortally wounded the general. Ross died before his bearers could reach the



GENERAL ROSS MORTALLY WOUNDED.

boats, living only long enough "to name his wife and to commend his family to the care of his country." The command now devolved upon Colonel Brooke, who pressed forward and met Stricker's advance troops seven or eight miles from Baltimore. There a severe engagement occurred lasting about two hours, when Stricker ordered a retreat to his reserve corps. There he re-formed his brigade and fell steadily back toward the city, as far as Worthington's Mill, where he was joined by General Winder with some fresh troops. The British bivouacked on the battle-field that night.

Early on the morning of the 12th, frigates, schooners, sloops, bomb-ketches and rocket-vessels entered the harbor of Baltimore and moved up toward Fort McHenry. They anchored out of reach of its moderate-sized guns until evening. Then the fleet were so disposed as to bombard Fort McHenry and batteries not far off on the next morning, when Brooke should move forward with the land forces to attack the city. At the time specified the bomb-vessels opened a heavy fire upon the American works. Armistead immediately opened the batteries of Fort McHenry upon the fleet, but his missiles falling short, were harmless. The garrison was exposed to a tremendous shower of shells for several hours, without power to check the firing of the antagonist. Finally, to the delight of Armistead, the bomb-vessels moved nearer the fort to make their shells more effective, when his turn came for inflicting injury. He ordered a cannonade and bombardment from every part of the fort. The intruders were punished so severely that in the course of half an hour they withdrew to their former anchorage very much bruised.

All that day and the following night—twenty-five hours—the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry. Meanwhile Colonel Brooke, with the land forces, had been trying to reach Baltimore, but was foiled by Stricker and Winder. On the evening of the 13th, finding it impossible to accomplish his object, and learning that the bombardment had very little effect, Brooke obtained an interview with Cochrane, when they concluded that the efforts of the combined forces to capture Baltimore was already a failure. They resolved to relinquish the enterprise, and the bombardment suddenly ceased early on the morning of the 14th. The troops had begun their retreat in a heavy rain and intense darkness, at three o'clock that morning. They were taken on board the fleet the same evening; and on the morning of the 15th, the entire land and naval forces of the invaders went down the bay crest-fallen and badly punished. This discomfiture of the enemy made the alarmed citizens of Philadelphia and New York breathe freer.

This gallant defence of Baltimore revived the spirits of the Americans, which were drooping because of the sad events at their capital. The disappointment of the enemy was very great. After the capture of Washington, Ross felt that the taking of Baltimore would be like a holiday pastime. Sir George Prevost postponed public rejoicing at Montreal because of the capture of Washington, until the capture of Baltimore should be accomplished, when both events might be celebrated at the same time. On the very day when Ross anchored off North Point (September 11, 1814), Prevost was vanquished at Plattsburg, and made to fly back to Canada.

When the British retreated to their ships from Washington, they carried



with them Dr. Beans, a beloved physician of Upper Marlborough, as a prisoner. Francis S. Key, a gentleman of culture and great affability of manner, consented to go with a flag to the British squadron, and endeavor to procure the release of Beans. Key went with Mr. Skinner of Baltimore and found the fleet at the mouth of the Potomac. As the invaders were preparing to attack Baltimore, they refused to allow either of the three to return then, and they witnessed the bombardment of Fort McHenry from one of the British ships with the greatest anxiety, especially on the night of the 13th. The fort was silent, and they did not know whether it had surrendered or not. In the dim light of early morning their hearts were gladdened, for they saw that "our flag was still there." It was while pacing the deck of the British vessel in great anxiety, that Key composed that song, "The Star-Spangled Banner," which immortalized him. When the ships withdrew, Key and his friends were restored to liberty.

The naval operations on the sea, though not so important in immediate results as those of the two preceding years, fully sustained the character of the American war marine. Several new war-vessels were built and sent to sea during the first half of that year. The *John Adams*, which was cut down to a corvette of 28 guns, late in 1813, started on a cruise from the Washington Navy-Yard, under the command of Captain Morris, early in 1814, and eluding the blockading fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, went to sea. Her cruise was unsuccessful, and in August, with a sick crew and a damaged vessel, Captain Morris went into the Penobscot River, where he destroyed the corvette to prevent her falling into the hands of the British. In May of that year, Captain Johnston Blakely crossed the ocean in the *Wasp*, 18, and spread terror, like the *Argus*, among the shipping in the British channel. On the 28th of June, after a conflict of half an hour, the *Wasp* captured the British sloop *Reindeer*, and as she was a wreck, Blakely burned her. On the first of September, the *Wasp* had a sharp engagement in intense darkness, and compelled her antagonist, the *Arcon*, to surrender. Three consorts of the *Arcon* coming up, compelled the *Wasp* to relinquish her prize. She afterward captured several prizes; but during that autumn she was lost somewhere, with all her people, for she was never heard of afterward.

In March, 1814, the sloop-of-war *Peacock*, 18, Captain Warrington, sailed on a cruise from New York, and on the 29th of April she had a severe conflict of forty minutes with the *Epervier*, 18, and captured her. She was a valuable prize, having \$118,000 in specie on board, and the vessel sold for \$55,000. In another cruise to the shores of Portugal, the *Peacock* captured fourteen vessels and returned to New York in October. When Bainbridge relinquished the command of the *Constitution*, 44, in 1813, she was thor-

oughly repaired. She went to sea again under the command of Captain Charles Stewart, late in 1813, and early in February following she was on the coast of Surinam. On the 14th of that month she captured the *Picton*, 16, and returning to the New England coast early in April, she was chased into the harbor of Marblehead by two powerful British frigates. The *Constitution* afterward went to Salem and thence to Boston, where she remained until December, 1814. At the close of that month she put to sea, crossed the Atlantic to the Bay of Biscay, and then cruised off the harbor of Lisbon. Stewart sailed southward toward Cape St. Vincent, and on the 20th of February, 1815, he discovered two strange sails, which, toward evening, flung out the British flag, when he displayed the American colors. By skillful management, he secured an advantageous position, when he began an action with both of them; and after a severe combat, he captured both of them. One of these vessels was the frigate *Cyane*, 36, and the other was the sloop *Levant*, 18. In this engagement the *Constitution* was so little damaged, that three hours after the battle she was ready for another. These exploits of the *Constitution* were performed after peace had been proclaimed. After one or two more stirring adventures, Stewart crossed the Atlantic, landed many of his prisoners on the coast of Brazil, and at Porto Rico he first heard of the proclamation of peace. He arrived at New York at the middle of May, and gave the first intelligence of the capture of the *Cyane* and *Levant*. Honors were showered upon him. Congress gave him thanks and a gold medal. The Common Council of the city of New York gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box and honored him with a public banquet, and the Legislature of Pennsylvania presented him, in the name of the State, with a gold-hilted sword. The *Constitution* was ever afterward known as *Old Ironsides*, and Stewart bore the same title until his death in November, 1869, when he was in the ninety-second year of his age.

In the summer of 1814, Commodore Decatur, whose vessels had been long blockaded in the Thames, above New London, was transferred to the command of the *President*, and a little squadron composed of his flag-ship the *Peacock*, Captain Warrington; the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle; and the *Tom Bowline*, store-ship. The destination of the squadron was the East Indies, to spread havoc among the British shipping there. The *President* left her moorings first, and eluding the blockaders off Sandy Hook, put to sea. She had not proceeded far before she was chased by four British ships-of-war. Heavily laden for a long cruise, she could not sail fast, and after a protracted chase and running fight she was compelled to strike her colors. Decatur delivered his sword to Captain Hayes of the *Majestic*, the first vessel that came alongside the *President* after she struck.

Late in January, the remainder of Decatur's squadron put to sea, their commander being ignorant of the fate of the flag-ship. The commodore had designated one of a group of islands in the South Atlantic Ocean as the place of rendezvous, and toward this the squadron sailed. The *Peacock* and *Tem Bowline* arrived there early in March, but were driven away by a storm; the *Hornet* was about to cast anchor there on the 23d of March when a strange vessel was discerned near. Biddle spread his sails and went seaward to reconnoitre. The stranger was the British sloop *Penguin*, 18. They fought desperately, and at the end of twenty minutes the *Hornet* won the victory. This action was regarded as one of the most creditable of the war. Biddle was honored by Congress with a gold medal, and citizens of Philadelphia gave him a service of beautiful silver plate. Afterward the *Hornet* was closely chased by a heavy line-of-battle-ship; but by consummate seamanship and casting everything overboard to lighten her, she escaped and reached New York in June, 1815, without boat or anchor.

Captain Warrington captured the *Nautilus* in the Straits of Sunda (between the islands of Sumatra and Java of the East Indian archipelago), on the 30th of June, 1815. Being informed the next day of the ratification of peace, Warrington gave up the *Nautilus* and returned home, bearing the honor of having fired the last shot in the second war for independence. Every cruiser, public and private, had returned to port when Warrington arrived, and the war was over. He, too, was honored by Congress with thanks and a gold medal. During the war, as we have observed, the American privateersmen did good service for themselves and their country. They swarmed upon the ocean, and were the terror of British commerce. The romantic story of their doings have filled a large volume (*Coggeshall's History of American Privateers*), and yet the half has not been told. Their exploits were but a repetition of those of the regular service. After the first six months of the war, the bulk of the naval conflicts was carried on upon the ocean, on the part of the Americans, by private armed vessels, which, as we have observed, "took, burned and destroyed *sixteen hundred* British merchantmen of all classes, in the space of three years."

"The navy," says Cooper, "came out of this struggle with a vast increase of reputation. The brilliant style in which the ships had been carried into action, the steadiness and rapidity with which they had been handled, and the fatal accuracy of their fire on nearly every occasion, produced a new era in naval warfare. Most of the frigate actions had been as soon decided as circumstances would at all allow; and in no instance was it found necessary to keep up the fire of a sloop-of-war an hour when singly engaged. Most of the combats of the latter, indeed, were decided in about

half that time. The execution done in these short conflicts was often equal to that made by the largest vessels of Europe in general actions, and in some of them the slain and wounded comprised a very large proportion of the crews. It is not easy to say in which nation this unlooked for result created the most surprise. . . . The ablest and wisest captain of the English fleet was ready to admit that a new power was about to appear on the ocean, and that it was not improbable the battle for the mastery of the sea would have to be fought over again."

The triumphs of the American navy gave great satisfaction to our people, and were themes for oratory, toast and song. That satisfaction was manifested in various ways, sometimes by a little harmless boasting as in the following verses of an ode to "The American Tar," which was very popular at the close of the war:

"The Goddess of Freedom, borne down by oppression,  
In Europe's famed regions no longer found rest;  
She wept at the heart-rending, wide desolation,  
And languishing looked for relief from the West.  
She heard that Columbia was rearing a temple,  
Where she would be worshipp'd in peace and in war:  
Old Neptune confirm'd it—cried 'Here is a sample,'  
Presenting with pride an American Tar.

"Cease weeping, then, goddess, to thee I've consigned him;  
He loves thee, and he thy protector will be;  
Believe me, a more gallant youth you will find him  
Than e'er bore your banners through ocean and sea.  
When his galley he trims—firm, resolv'd for the onset,  
Woe, woe, to that foe who his prowess shall dare;  
Long will his country lament that he e'er met  
And brav'd the avenging American Tar.

We have now come to a consideration of the closing events of the war in connection with the military operations. These almost ceased at the north after the stirring events at Washington, Baltimore, and Plattsburg. There were some significant political movements in New England in the autumn of 1814, which attracted very wide attention, created considerable alarm, and called forth severe animadversions. The chief theatre of military operations was transferred to the Gulf region.



## CHAPTER XV.

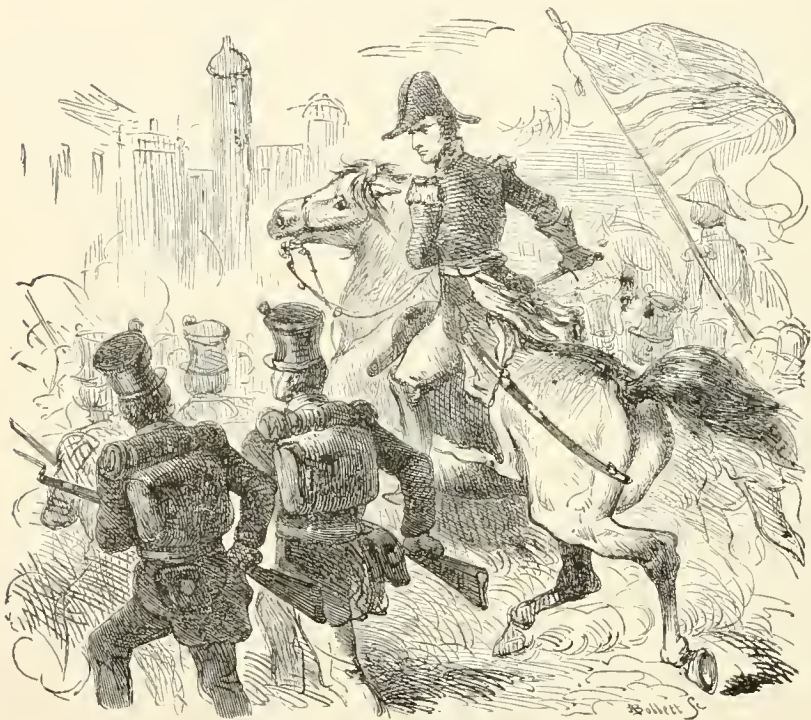
THE CREEK INDIANS—THE BRITISH AT PENSACOLA AND FORT BOWYER—GENERAL JACKSON DRIVES THE BRITISH FROM PENSACOLA—IS CALLED TO NEW ORLEANS—INVASION OF LOUISIANA CONTEMPLATED—LAFITTE AND HIS BAND OF OUTLAWS—JACKSON IN NEW ORLEANS—THE BRITISH IN THE GULF—EVENTS ON LAKE BORGNE—BATTLE BELOW NEW ORLEANS—PAKENHAM AND HIS TROOPS—JACKSON'S LINE OF DEFENCE—BATTLE NEAR NEW ORLEANS—DEFEAT AND RETREAT OF THE BRITISH—HONORS TO JACKSON—THE GENERAL FINED FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT—TREATY OF PEACE—ITS EFFECTS—EFFECTS OF THE WAR—THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, ITS CAUSE, DESIGNS AND DOINGS—ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS—RESULT OF THE WAR—THE BARBARY POWERS HUMBLING.

JACKSON had crushed the military power of the Creek Indians in Alabama, in the spring of 1814, and in the course of the ensuing summer he wrung from them a treaty which extinguished them, politically, as a nation. A large portion of their beautiful and fertile country was added to the United States as indemnity for the expenses of the war. They agreed to allow the national government to build roads across their domain, and not to hold any communication with British or Spanish posts. It then was believed that the war in the South was ended. Suddenly the British appeared in force in the Gulf of Mexico, and were favored and sheltered by the Spanish authorities at Pensacola. Informed of this, some of the Creek chiefs indulged a hope of having their lost power restored to them, and for awhile the obligations of the treaty bore lightly upon their consciences.

By permission of the Spanish governor of Florida, the British took possession of one of the forts at Pensacola, where they fitted out an expedition for the capture of Fort Bowyer (now Fort Morgan), on the eastern shore of the entrance to Mobile Bay. The fort was commanded by Major William Lawrence with a band of one hundred and thirty resolute men. The English squadron bearing land troops appeared off Mobile Point; and on the 15th of September, after some land troops had disembarked, an attack was begun, on land and sea, simultaneously. The twenty pieces of artillery with which Fort Bowyer was armed were brought to bear upon the enemy so skillfully that the British were soon repulsed, with the loss of a

ship-of-war and many men. Among the land troops were two hundred Creek warriors who had violated the treaty.

General Jackson's head-quarters were then at Mobile. He was a major-general in the regular army, and the commander of the southwestern military district, which extended from Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico and included New Orleans. He had learned that the Spanish governor had



TROOPS CHARGING INTO PENSACOLA.

not only given shelter to the British, but had invited a large number of the Creek warriors to Pensacola, to be enrolled into the British service. The general took the responsibility of calling that official to account for his conduct, but he could not obtain any satisfactory guaranty that the unfriendly act would not be repeated; he therefore determined to march to Pensacola and compel the British to leave that harbor. When volunteers from Tennessee had arrived early in November, he advanced with about four thousand men, and on the 6th encamped within two miles of the Florida capital. An officer was sent with a flag to demand the surrender of the

forts, when the British fired upon it. The next day Jackson's troops charged into the town, when the frightened governor offered to surrender the forts. This was done; whereupon the British abandoned the forts, blew up one of them (Barrancas), and sailed away with the garrison and a considerable number of Indians. These events so impressed the Creeks with a sense of the power of Jackson and his government, that they ever afterward kept quiet.

On his return to Mobile, Jackson found messages from New Orleans, urging him to hasten to the defence of that city. The unwise commander of the British in the Gulf had proclaimed his intention to invade Louisiana, and had sent an inflammatory proclamation among the inhabitants of that State. He had also tried to engage the services of a band of outlaws near the mouth of the Mississippi River, led by Jean Lafitte, who has been called the "Pirate of the Gulf." Lafitte was a shrewd Frenchman, and he and his band had been outlawed by legal proceedings, though his crimes were not against humanity, only violations of the revenue and neutrality laws of the United States. When the invitation was put into his hands, he feigned compliance; but as soon as the bearer had departed, he called his followers around him on the border of the sea and said in substance: "Comrades, I am an adopted citizen of the United States, and will never violate the confidence placed in me by serving the enemies of this country. We have been outlawed; perhaps we deserve it by our irregularities. No matter; I am ready to serve my adopted country, and ask you to join me. What say you, comrades?" His brawny followers then threw up their hats and exclaimed, "We will! we will!" and they were afterward accepted as volunteers in the defence of New Orleans. Lafitte immediately sent the despatches received from the British commander to the governor of Louisiana, and so the people were forewarned of approaching danger.

Jackson arrived at New Orleans on the 2d of December, and found that city utterly defenceless, and the people filled with alarm and distracted by petty factions.

Real danger was imminent. The British troops that left Chesapeake Bay after their repulse at Baltimore had gone to the West Indies, where they were joined by about four thousand veterans under the brave Irish general Keane. The combined forces sailed in the direction of New Orleans late in November. The wives of many of the officers accompanied them, for not a man doubted that the speedy conquest of Louisiana would be the result of the expedition. The dullness of the voyage was enlivened by music and dancing, and all anticipated exquisite pleasures to be found in the paradise before them. The presence of Jackson allayed the fears of the

people, and his vigorous measures inspired them with confidence. He established martial-law, and had so rigorously exercised it that before the British were ready for the invasion, he felt confident of success in defending the city against great odds.

The British forces halted at the entrance to Lake Borgne, between which and the Mississippi River New Orleans stands. On the bosom of that lake the Americans had a patrol of five gun-boats, commanded by Lieutenant (afterward Commodore) T. Ap Catesby Jones. Against these were sent twelve hundred men in about forty boats, who captured the American flotilla on the 14th of December, and so secured complete command of the lake. Meanwhile Jackson was carrying on his measures for defence most vigorously; and when he heard of the capture of the flotilla, he sent couriers to General Coffee and others at the head of Tennessee and Kentucky troops, urging them to hasten to New Orleans. His efforts were timely, for on the 22d of December, General Keane, with more than two thousand five hundred men, reached the banks of the Mississippi through a bayou nine miles below the city, and prepared to take New Orleans by surprise. Vigilant eyes were watching his movements; and a prisoner whom he had taken and who had escaped, hastened to New Orleans and gave General Jackson notice of the near approach of the foe. At the same time Coffee and Carroll arrived with Tennesseans, and Jackson put a column in motion to meet the invaders. Early on the evening of the 23d they marched, eighteen hundred strong, led by Jackson in person, and at the same time the armed schooner *Carolina* dropped down the river to within musket range of the British camp. Shots from that vessel first revealed the fact to the British that their presence was known at New Orleans, and these missiles soon broke up their camp, when they were attacked in the dark by Jackson and his followers. The combat that ensued was indecisive, except in making the invaders more cautious and discreet. In this night-conflict the Americans lost about two hundred men, and the British lost four hundred.

New Orleans was saved from capture by surprise; now it had to be saved from open invasion. The events of the 23d dispirited the British, and in this condition General Pakenham found the troops on his arrival on Christmas day, with reinforcements, to take the chief command. He was a veteran fresh from the Spanish peninsula, and was delighted to find under his control some of the best of Wellington's regiments. He immediately prepared to effect the capture of New Orleans and the subjugation of Louisiana without delay. With hot-shot the annoying *Carolina* was burned, and the *Louisiana* was the only American naval force left in the river. Meanwhile Jackson had been casting up a line of intrenchments from the





BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS—DEATH OF GENERAL PAKENHAM.

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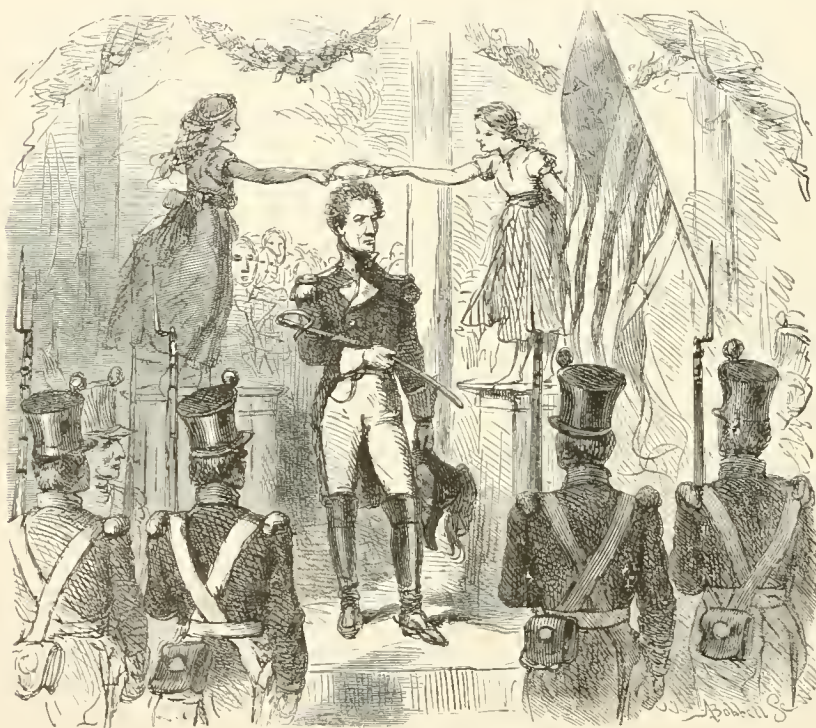
banks of the Mississippi to an almost impregnable swamp in the rear, four miles below New Orleans. Near this line indecisive engagements occurred. Finally a battle was fought which, without the negotiations for peace that resulted in a treaty, would have ended the war.

On the morning of the 8th of January, 1815, full six thousand expert sharpshooters, mostly from Tennessee under Coffee and Carroll, and from Kentucky under General Adair, lay behind Jackson's intrenchments almost wholly concealed from the enemy encamped on the plain that stretched away to the southward. Pakenham, who had twelve thousand effective men, had resolved to carry this line by storm, satisfied that his overwhelming numbers of regulars might easily crush the American militia gathered on both sides of the Mississippi. With about nine thousand troops he pressed forward for the purpose as soon as a heavy fog was dispersed, leaving the remainder as a reserve, under General Lambert. An ominous silence prevailed along the American line until the enemy approached within short cannon-range of Jackson's batteries. These were opened with terrible effect, cutting fearful lanes through the ranks of the British. Yet the invaders continued to advance steadily until they came within range of the American rifles, when volley after volley poured a deadly storm of lead upon the British. Whole platoons were mown down as with a scythe; but the gallant army continued to press forward until officer after officer was killed, and Pakenham himself fell, bleeding and dying, into the arms of the late Sir Duncan McDougall, his favorite aid, who performed a similar service for General Ross when he was mortally wounded near Baltimore a few months before. Very soon afterward the whole of the assailants broke and fled back across the plain of Chalmette in great confusion. Lambert, with the reserve, covered the retreat. On the west side of the Mississippi the assailants had also retreated. The slaughter and maiming before Jackson's lines had been fearful. The fugitives left seven hundred dead and fourteen hundred wounded on the field, and suffered a further loss by having five hundred of their companions made prisoners—a loss of twenty-six hundred. The Americans lost only eight killed and thirteen wounded. They were thoroughly protected by breastworks, while the invaders were exposed on an open plain. The bodies of the slain British officers were taken to Villere's plantation, where they were buried that night by torchlight, excepting those of Pakenham and three or four general officers, which were sent to England in casks of rum. The British troops under General Lambert stole noiselessly away on the night of the 19th across Lake Borgne, in small transports, and escaped to the fleet. They then besieged Fort Bowyer for two days, when Major Lawrence was compelled to surrender, and the



victors were about to push on to Mobile when they were arrested by tidings of peace.

General Jackson, with the main body of his army, entered New Orleans on the 21st of January, where the population, of all ages, greeted them as saviors. Two days later that city was the theatre of an imposing spectacle at the front of the old cathedral, in what is now Jackson Square. That day



JACKSON CROWNED AT NEW ORLEANS.

had been appointed by the apostolic prefect of Louisiana for the public offering, in the cathedral, of thanks to the Almighty for the great deliverance; and Jackson, with his staff, were to be in attendance. Preparations were made for the reception of the hero. In the public square was erected a triumphal arch supported by six Corinthian columns, and festooned with evergreens and flowers. Beneath the arch stood two beautiful little girls, each upon a pedestal and holding in her hand a civic crown of laurel. Near them stood two damsels, one personifying *Liberty*, the other *Justice*. From the arch to the cathedral, arranged in two rows, stood beautiful young



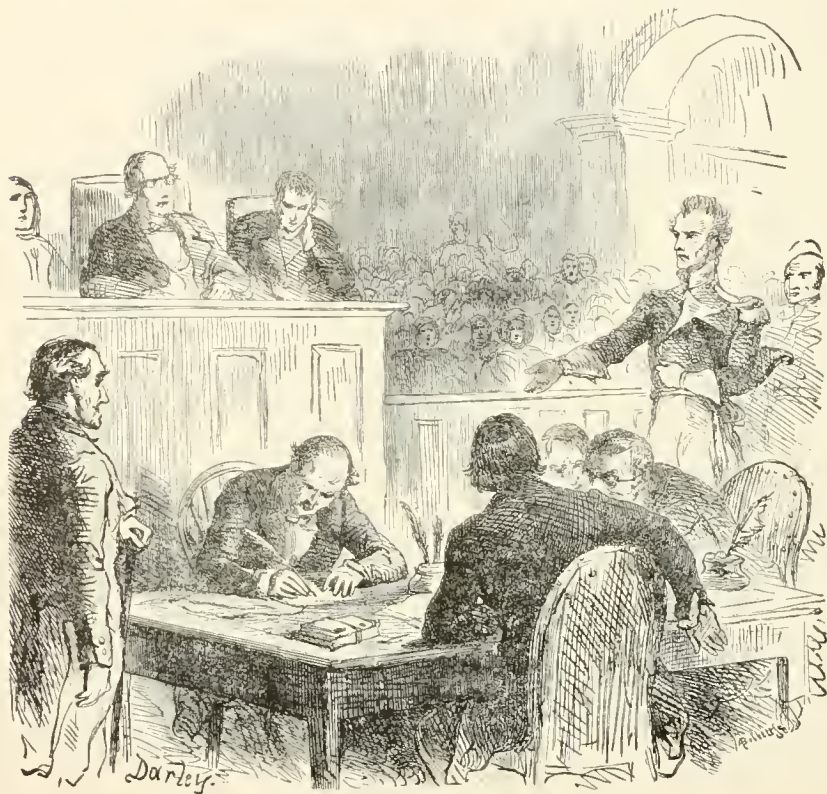
maidens dressed in white, each covered with a blue gauze veil, and having a silver star on her forehead. These personified the several States and Territories of the Union. Each carried a basket filled with flowers, and behind each was a lance stuck in the ground, and bearing a shield with the name of the State she represented inscribed upon it.

Jackson and his staff passed on foot through the square between rows of soldiers, and as he stepped upon the slightly raised platform of the arch, the two little girls on the pedestals leaned gently forward and placed the laurel crown upon his head. At the same moment a charming Creole girl (Miss Kerr), as the representative of Louisiana, stepped forward and with great modesty in voice and manner, spoke a few words to the honored chief, in which she expressed the profound gratitude of her people. To this address Jackson made a brief reply, and then passed on to the church, with his pathway strewn with flowers. Therein he was seated near the great altar, and after the apostolic prefect delivered a patriotic discourse, the *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted by the choir and the people. When the ceremonies were ended Jackson returned to the stern duties of a soldier.

The general was vigilant as well as brave, and he exercised martial law until official tidings of peace reached him. Martial and civil law clashed. An irate judge, whom the general had caused to be arrested and banished beyond the military jurisdiction, summoned Jackson before him to show cause why the general should not be punished for contempt of court. The hero obeyed. The court-room was crowded with citizens indignant at such treatment of the man who had saved their State from invasion and their city from plunder. The judge was alarmed in the presence of the public wrath. "Go on; I will protect you in your duty," said the brave general to the trembling judge. The latter fined the hero a thousand dollars, for which amount the general drew a check before leaving the room. The populace bore him on their shoulders to a carriage in the street, and the citizens soon made up the amount of the fine and tendered it to Jackson. He ordered it to be distributed among the families of the soldiers who had fallen in the battle. Thirteen years afterward the people of the United States elected Andrew Jackson President of the Republic.

We have observed that Great Britain refused to treat for peace under Russian mediation, but the government offered to open negotiations in London or in Gottenburg, Sweden. President Madison, anxious for peace, accepted the proposition, and chose the last-named place for the meeting; but the ancient city of Ghent in the Netherlands (now Belgium) was afterward substituted. There commissioners appointed by the two governments met in August, 1814. The United States was represented by John Quincy

Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin. The British representatives in the commission were Lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn and William Adams. Christopher Hughes, Jr., of Baltimore, was appointed secretary to the American commissioners. He was then the



JACKSON BEFORE THE COURT.

diplomatic agent of the United States at the Court of Sweden, and was one of the most attractive of men in social life, and unrivalled as a diplomat. When negotiations for peace were opened, a wide difference in the views of the commissioners of the respective nations appeared. Discussions continued several months. A result was not reached until the 24th of December, when a treaty was signed by the respective commissioners and was immediately sent to London, where it was ratified on the 28th by the Prince Regent. It had been borne there by Mr. Baker, secretary of Lord Gambier, and Mr. Carroll, one of the secretaries of the American commis-

sion. The same messengers took it to America in the sloop-of-war *Favorite*, which arrived at New York on the 11th of February. Mr. Hughes, who left Ghent with a copy of the treaty, and embarked for America from the Texel, arrived at Annapolis two days after the *Favorite* reached New York, and he put a copy of the treaty into the hands of the President before the ratified copy arrived in Washington. The treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States on the 17th of February, and it was promulgated the next day by a proclamation of the President. As the tidings went slowly over the land, intense joy and satisfaction were manifested in private and in public.

While the news of peace was spreading great joy throughout the country, there was a feeling of disappointment among reflecting men because the treaty did not secure to the Americans that immunity from search and impressment for which they had made war. It left Great Britain free to pursue her haughty course on the high seas, unrestrained by any moral force. The supercilious manner in which the American commissioners had been treated in England while waiting for the British government to determine where negotiations should be held, had left a thorn of irritation in the public sentiment. For months the commissioners had been suffered to remain in England unnoticed by the government; and the ministry, by proposing first one place and then another for the meeting, had shown a spirit of undignified trifling which delayed the result full six months. The treaty stipulated a mutual restoration of all places and possessions taken during the war, or which might be taken after signing the treaty; declared that all captures at sea should be relinquished, if made within specified times thereafter, in different parts of the world; and that each party should mutually put a stop to Indian hostilities, and endeavor to extinguish the traffic in slaves. The boundaries, imperfectly adjusted by the treaty of 1783, were all settled, but the subjects of search and impressment, of paper blockades and orders in council, were all passed by without specific notice in the treaty. These grave omissions were weapons in the hands of the opponents of the war, which they used with vigor. Their newspapers contained some well-pointed epigrams; and the New York *Evening Post*, anticipating this failure, had printed in its "New Year's Address," several weeks before the arrival of the treaty, the following stanza:

"Your commerce is wantonly lost;  
Your treasures are wasted and gone;  
You've fought to no end, but with millions of cost  
And for rivers of blood you've nothing to boast,  
But credit and nation undone."

But while the war and the treaty had failed to secure certain immediate and important incidental advantages, the events of that war did secure the far more important advantage of the positive and permanent independence of the United States, for which our people with arms and diplomacy had contended for many years in vain. It secured to posterity a guarantee for the perpetuation and growth of free institutions; and Great Britain was taught the useful lesson, more puissant in its effects upon the topic of search and impressment than any treaty obligation, that the young republic of the West, the offspring of her oppressions, growing more lusty every hour, would no longer tolerate an insult, nor suffer its sovereignty to be questioned without resenting the offence. Great Britain was compelled to sign a bond, as it were, to keep the peace, in the form of an acknowledgment that she had, in this republic, a formidable rival for the supremacy of the seas, which she was bound to respect. The concessions made to the Americans by the treaty were equally offensive to British pride, for it seemed like stooping to "insolent Yankees;" and the spirit of a portion of the London press was manifested by the following "advertisement extraordinary:"

*"Wanted—*The spirit which animated the conduct of Elizabeth, Oliver, and William.

*"Lost—*All idea of national dignity and honor.

*"Found—*That every independent State may insult *That* which used to call herself *Mistress of the Seas.*"

The treaty of peace ended the war which had continued two years and eight months; it also modified the partisan warfare in the republic. We have seen how persistently the Federalists opposed the declaration of war when it was proposed, and denounced it during its progress; also how unpatriotic was the conduct of a portion of that party known as the Peace-Faction. The mischievous conduct of that faction ceased only with the conflict of arms, while a more patriotic portion of the opposition adopted a measure which created suspicions of their loyalty at the time, and caused unjust vituperations for many years afterward. The event alluded to is known in history as "The Hartford Convention," the authentic history of which is as follows:

The haughty position assumed by Great Britain during the negotiations at Ghent, in demanding terms of peace humiliating to the Americans, caused our government to prosecute the war with more vigor than ever before, in the autumn of 1814. To do this it was necessary to raise a considerable force by conscription. This measure brought matters to a crisis in New England, where the Peace-Faction was all-powerful. The conduct of



that faction had made the President suspicious of the loyalty of the New Englanders; and in making military arrangements, he had discriminated unfavorably toward that section of the country of which he showed his distrust. In some of the other States, the matter of local defences had been left almost wholly to the discretion of the respective governors; in New England, the President insisted upon his having exclusive control of all military movements there. The Massachusetts government had refused to place its militia under the control of General Dearborn, of the national army, and the national government therefore refused to pay the expenses of defending Massachusetts from the common enemy. Similar action had occurred in the case of Connecticut, and a clamor was instantly raised that New England was abandoned to the enemy by the national government. In a report, the Massachusetts Legislature made a covert threat of independent action on the part of the people of that section, by appropriating their home resources for home defence. A conference of sympathizing States, to consider the proposition and to consult upon a radical reform in the National Constitution, was proposed. That proposition was acceded to, and on the morning of the 15th of December, 1814, a convention, composed of twenty-six delegates representing New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont, assembled at Hartford, Connecticut, and held their sessions in secret. George Cabot of Boston was chosen president of the convention, and Theodore Dwight, secretary. The sessions of that convention continued three weeks, during which time some propositions were made by indiscreet members, which, if carried out, might have been dangerous to the integrity of the Union. A series of topics for discussion, prepared by a committee, all having relation to the best interests of the republic, occupied the greater portion of the time. Late in December the convention adopted the report of a committee, that it would be expedient for that body to prepare a general statement of the unconstitutional attempts of the executive government of the United States to infringe upon the rights of individual States, in regard to the military, etc.; and to recommend to the legislature of the States the adoption of the most effective and decisive measures to protect the militia and the State from the usurpations contained in these proceedings—the drafting of men. Also to prepare a statement concerning the general subject of State defences, and a recommendation that an application be made to the national government for an arrangement with the States by which they could be allowed to retain a portion of the taxes levied by Congress, to be devoted to the expense of self-defence. They also proposed amendments to the National Constitution, to obtain the following results: The restriction of the power of Congress to

declare and make war; a restraint of the exercise of unlimited power by Congress to make new States and admit them into the Union; a restraint of the power of Congress in laying embargoes and restrictions upon commerce; a stipulation that a President of the United States shall not be elected from the same State two consecutive terms; that the same person shall not be elected President a second term, and that alterations be made concerning slave representation and taxation.

The Hartford convention, undoubtedly composed of as wise, loyal and patriotic men as any in the Union, and who represented the conservative sentiment of discontented New England during a season of great trial, adjourned on the 6th of January, 1815, with an impression that circumstances might compel it to reassemble; therefore the seal of secrecy was not removed. This gave wide scope for conjecture, and the wildest stories of their seditious doings were circulated and believed; and for twenty years the political cry of "a Hartford Convention Federalist!" cast a degree of public odium on the man so denounced.

With the advent of peace very important duties were presented to the national administration, in the adjustment of public affairs in accordance with the new order of things. Plans were considered for the maintenance of the public credit and the extinguishment of the national debt, then amounting to over \$120,000,000. Appropriations were made for rebuilding the public edifices destroyed by the British. The army was reduced to a peace establishment of ten thousand men; and the various acts necessary for the public good during a state of war were repealed. The naval establishment was fully kept up, for the necessity of a force in the Mediterranean to protect American commerce from the depredations of Algerian corsairs was apparent. The total cost of the war to the United States government was about \$100,000,000, and the loss of human life by battle and by other casualties incident to war was estimated at thirty thousand. The cost of blood and treasure to the British nation was much greater. The Americans captured during the conflict on the ocean and on the lakes fifty-six British vessels-of-war, mounting eight hundred and eighty-six cannon, and two thousand three hundred and sixty merchant-vessels, mounting eight thousand guns. There were also lost on the American coast, during the war, by wreck or otherwise, twenty-nine British ships-of-war, mounting eight hundred guns; while the Americans lost only twenty-five vessels-of-war, and a much less number of merchant-ships than the British.

As soon as the war with Great Britain was ended, the United States felt impelled to engage in another with Algiers. Offended because he had not

received from the American government, as tribute, precisely the articles which he had demanded, the semi-barbarian Dey of Algiers, in 1812, unceremoniously dismissed Mr. Lear, the American consul, and declared war; and afterward his corsairs captured an American vessel, and the crew were reduced to slavery. Mr. Lear was compelled to pay the Dey \$27,000 for the safety of himself and family, and a few Americans who were there, to save them all from being made slaves. Believing that the United States navy had been almost annihilated by the British in the late contest, this North African robber renewed depredations upon American commerce in violation of treaty obligations. Determined to pay tribute no longer to this insolent ruler, the American government accepted his challenge for war, and in May, 1815, sent Commodore Decatur to the Mediterranean, with a squadron, to humble the Dey. When Decatur passed the straits of Gibraltar, he found the Algerine pirate fleet cruising in search of American vessels. On the 17th of June, Decatur met the flag-ship of the Algerine admiral (a frigate of 44 guns), and after a brief engagement captured her, also another pirate ship with almost six hundred men. With these prizes he immediately sailed for the bay of Algiers, and on the 28th of June, he demanded the instant surrender of all the American prisoners, full indemnification for all property destroyed, and absolute relinquishment of all claims to tribute from the United States thereafter.

When the Dey of Algiers heard of the fate of a part of his fleet, that terrified robber hastened to comply with Decatur's demands; and in obedience to the commodore's requirements, the haughty chief appeared on the quarter-deck of the *Guerriere* (the flag-ship) with some of his officers of state and accompanied by the captives he was to release. There, on the 30th of June, he signed a treaty in accordance with the demands of Decatur, and departed deeply humiliated. From Algiers, after this triumph, the



STEPHEN DECATUR.

commodore sailed for Tunis, and demanded and received from the Bashaw or ruler of that state \$46,000, in payment for American vessels which he had allowed the British to capture in his harbor. This was in July. Then Decatur proceeded to Tripoli, the capital of another of the Barbary States, and in August demanded from the Bey, its ruler, \$25,000 for the same kind



DEY OF ALGIERS BEFORE DECATUR

of injury to property and the release of prisoners. The treasury of the Bey being nearly empty, Decatur accepted, in lieu of cash, the release from captivity of eight Danish and two Neapolitan seamen, who were held as slaves. This cruise in the Mediterranean sea gave full security to American commerce in these waters, and greatly elevated the character of the United States in the opinion of Europeans. During this cruise of about two months, in the summer of 1815, the navy of the United States accomplished, in the way of humbling the North African robbers, what the combined powers of Europe dared not to attempt.





## CHAPTER XVI.

**BANKS—FINANCES OF THE GOVERNMENT—A NATIONAL BANK—TROUBLES ABOUT BOUNDARIES IN THE GULF REGION—BEGINNING OF MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION—HIS CABINET—STATE OF THE REPUBLIC AND ITS INDUSTRIES—THE WEST AND ITS GROWTH—CHICAGO—THE PRESIDENT'S TOUR—THE SLAVE SYSTEM—COLONIZATION SOCIETIES—LIBERIA FOUNDED—PIRATES AND SLAVE DEALERS—TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS—JACKSON IN FLORIDA—DOINGS AT PENSACOLA—FLORIDA ADDED TO THE UNION—MISSOURI TERRITORY—ADMISSION OF MISSOURI AS A STATE—VIOLENT DEBATES ON SLAVERY—ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS—PIRATES SUBDUED—EFFECTS OF WHITNEY'S COTTON-GIN—THE "MONROE DOCTRINE"—VISIT OF LAFAYETTE—LAFAYETTE AT THE TOMB OF WASHINGTON—MEASURES OF MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.**

THE eventful administration of President Madison drew to a close in 1816. During that year the efforts of the government were put forth to complete the readjustment of the finances of the country after the derangements produced by a state of war. Direct taxation was reduced one-half, and other changes were made. The Bank of the United States had expired by the limitation of its charter in 1811, and banks authorized by the several States had appeared in all parts of the Union. At the close of 1815, there were one hundred and twenty of these institutions, with an aggregate capital of \$40,000,000, and an emission of notes estimated at \$200,000,000. The finances of the government were then in a wretched condition. The public credit had been depressed by the unpatriotic action of the Peace-Faction, and from the same cause there was a general suspension of specie payments by the banks, the notes of which were greatly depreciated—twenty per cent in Baltimore and fifteen in New York. In this state of things the friends of a national bank pressed its claims upon Congress, and in the spring of 1816 a second bank of the United States was chartered for twenty years with a capital of \$35,000,000, the United States subscribing for stock to the amount of \$7,000,000. The creation of this bank gave an impetus to general business. The State banks were compelled to resume specie payments. Some of them were aided in their efforts by the national bank, while more feeble ones were finally obliged to close their doors. The government bank went into operation early in 1817, and receiving on deposit the funds of the national government.

it soon became a powerful financial institution. It was so powerful that when President Jackson was inaugurated in 1829 he evinced hostility to it, and waged war upon it as a dangerous institution until it expired by the limitation of its charter, in 1836, which was never renewed by Congress. The bank was re-chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1836, but made a final suspension four years afterward, when, on winding up its business, there remained nothing for the stockholders—the whole capital was gone.

During Madison's administration Louisiana and Indiana were admitted into the Union as States—the former in April, 1812, and the latter in December, 1816. There had been warm discussions on the subject of the admission of Louisiana, the Federalists strongly opposing the measure. The question of boundary between the possessions of Spain and the United States, in that region, was a serious one. Eastward of the vast territory which, under the title of Louisiana, had been ceded to the United States, and bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, was a region in possession of the Spaniards, known as East and West Florida, the dividing line between them being the Perdido River, now the line between Florida and Alabama. The western portion was claimed by the United States as included in the cession, while the Spanish authorities asserted that their possession extended to the Mississippi. With the act for the admission of Louisiana was passed another act, annexing to that State that part of West Florida lying between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers, and all eastward of that stream to the Perdido was annexed to the Territory of Mississippi. This measure produced unpleasant relations between the United States and Spain, which continued several years; and the dispute was not settled until after the retirement of Mr. Madison from the Presidency. The latter event occurred on the 4th of March, 1817. James Monroe, his Secretary of State, was his successor, having received an almost unanimous vote for the high office in the electoral colleges. At the same time Daniel D. Tompkins of New York was elected Vice-President by a large majority. Monroe was the fifth President of the United States, and he entered upon the duties of his office under favorable auspices for himself and his country. His inaugural address was liberal in its tone and gave general satisfaction, and the beginning of his administration was regarded as the dawning of an era of good feeling. The Federal party was declining in strength, and from the dominant party which had elected him, the President chose his cabinet-ministers, composed of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Secretary of War. These were all aspirants for the Presidential chair.

B. W. Crowninshield was continued Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt was appointed Attorney-General. The President was thus surrounded by some of the ablest men of the republic as his constitutional advisers.

Mr. Monroe was conservative, judicious, and conciliatory; just such a man as was then needed in the place which he filled. It was a critical time in the history of the republic, for the country was in a transition state from that of war to one of peace. The demand for domestic manufactures and the high prices obtained for them during the war, had stimulated that particular industry, and many manufacturing establishments had been nurtured into vigorous life. When the war was ended and European manufactures came like a flood in quantity and at low prices, that industry was suddenly overwhelmed in disaster. Thousands of men and women were compelled to seek other employments, and many turned their eyes and their hopes to the millions of fertile acres beyond the Alleghany Mountains, where sure wealth, or at least a competence, awaited the tiller's industry and skill. Bankrupts sought and found relief in the pursuits of agriculture. Homes in the east were left by swarms of sturdy people. Emigration flowed over the mountains in a broad and continuous stream; and before the close of Monroe's administration, the Great West had begun its wonderful career. That administration was marked by an immense expansion in the material growth of the United States. Five independent States had been created and added to the Union, namely, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821.

The growth of "The West" in wealth and population has been marvelous. The five great lakes are over fifteen hundred miles in aggregate length, and drain a region estimated to be nearly thirty-six thousand square miles in extent. The regions around these lakes (especially the more west-



JAMES MONROE.

ern ones), less than fifty years ago, were almost a wilderness. In 1830, there were less than five thousand white people in the vast region between Lake Michigan and the Pacific Ocean; now there are millions, and populous States and Territories exist where, within a generation, the buffalo and the Indian hunter were lords of the soil. On the borders of these lakes now cluster great commercial centres. Chicago is a model for illustration. It was first surveyed and a small village was marked out there in 1831. A small garrison depended for grain-food upon Mackinaw. Now Chicago is a city of over three hundred thousand inhabitants, and it is the greatest grain market in the world. Its commerce amounts to \$450,000,000 annually.

Monroe determined to know more of the country and the people he was called upon to preside over, and sixty days after he was seated in the chair of state he left the capital for an extensive tour. He was clad in the undress uniform worn by officers of the Revolution—a blue coat of domestic manufacture, light waistcoat and breeches, high top-boots known as “Wellingtons,” and a cocked-hat. He journeyed to far-eastern New England, and thence passed through the sparsely settled country to Vermont. He visited Plattsburg, and journeyed through the forests to the St. Lawrence, where he embarked for Lake Ontario. He halted at Sackett’s Harbor, Fort Niagara and Buffalo, and then sailed over Lake Erie to Detroit. From that then remote region he journeyed through the woods of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and reached the capital after an absence of more than three months. In the journey the President became acquainted with leading men of all parties, and was cordially received everywhere with civic and military escorts and the profound respect of the people. The effect of that tour was every way beneficial. Partisan asperity was softened, and genuine patriotism filled the hearts of the people. There was then an almost perfect union of sentiment throughout the country; but the slave system soon awakened the most bitter sectional feeling that disturbed the repose of the people for about forty years.

Congress had passed laws, after the year 1808, prohibiting the African slave trade in our country; but after the war, the rapid increase in the cultivation of cotton made the demand for slave labor greater than the supply, and the African slave trade was reopened on the southern coasts in violation of law. There was also a brisk inter-state slave-trade act established, which continued until the breaking out of the late civil war. At that time (1860) the inhabitants of Virginia were receiving many millions of dollars from the sale of persons born on the soil of that State and sent to the cotton-growing States.

Before the Revolution the unpleasant situation of free colored people



among the slaves on account of their social disabilities had attracted the attention of benevolent persons, and efforts had been made to form a settlement for them in Africa. Nothing of great importance was accomplished until about the beginning of Monroe's administration, when the American Colonization Society was formed for that purpose, and for sending to such settlements slaves who had been unlawfully brought to the United States. The society founded the Republic of Liberia on the western coast of Africa, which, since 1848, has been an independent state governed by its own people.



FERTILE FIELDS OF THE WEST.

At this period, several of the Spanish-American colonies had declared their independence. East Florida was then in possession of Spain. A bold Scotchman named McGregor, bearing a commission (as he asserted) from several of the revolted Spanish colonies, was at the head of a band of desperate men, and took possession of Amelia Island off the northern part of the coast of Florida. He declared St. Augustine in a state of blockade, pretended to be engaged in the liberation of Florida from the Spanish yoke, sheltered privateers and pirates, and carried on a brisk trade in African slaves who were smuggled into the United States. At the same time a similar establishment was set up at Galveston, on the coast of Texas, for the

same purposes, to which some of the late followers of Lafitte resorted. The President determined to break up these nests. Late in November, 1817, a body of United States troops took possession of Amelia Island, and the Galveston establishment soon disappeared for want of support.

Meanwhile a mixed host composed of Seminole Indians in Florida, Creeks who were dissatisfied with the treaty of 1814, and runaway slaves, had commenced murderous forays upon the frontier settlers in Georgia and the Territory of Alabama, carved out of Mississippi. It was ascertained that these depredators were incited by British subjects residing in Florida under the protection of the Spanish authorities there. General Gaines was sent by our government to suppress these outrages and to remove any Indian from the territory ceded by the Creeks to the United States. His presence aroused the fierce anger of the Indians. They flew to arms, and for awhile Gaines was in great peril. General Jackson hastened to his relief, in time, with a thousand Tennessee volunteers. He arrived in December. Very little was done during the winter; but in March (1818) Jackson invaded Florida, took possession of the Spanish fort of St. Marks, at the head of Apalachee Bay, and sent the civil authorities and troops to Pensacola.

At St. Marks, Jackson found two of the most active inciters of the Indians to make forays into the settlements, and they were arrested. One was a Scotch trader from the Bermudas named Arbuthnot, and the other was a young Englishman named Ambrister, twenty-one years of age, who had borne a lieutenant's commission in the British service, and had led the motley gang of plunderers into Alabama. The general called these men before him, sternly accused them of their misdeeds, which they did not disclaim, and ordered them to be bound and tried by a court-martial. They were speedily found guilty, and speedily hanged. Jackson soon afterward marched toward Pensacola, where the Spanish authorities who cherished the enemies of the United States and encouraged the Indians to make war on the white people, resided. On Jackson's approach, the governor sent a protest against the invasion of the country of a friendly power, and a threat of repelling the intruders "force by force." Jackson pushed on to Pensacola. The governor and a few friends fled on horseback to Fort Barrancas, where he refused to give a guaranty for the peace of the frontier or to surrender the fort. Jackson drew up a 9-pounder field-piece and five 8-inch howitzers before the fort, and had scaling ladders ready, when a white flag appeared over the ramparts and a surrender took place. Jackson sent the governor and the garrison to Havana, and afterward wrote: "All I regret is that I did not storm the works, capture the governor, put him on his trial for the murder of Stokes and his family, and hang him for the deed."

Jackson was severely censured, in some circles, for these high-handed proceedings. His justification was a care for the public safety which could not be secured in any other way. The government and the voice of the people sustained him; but it was perceived that a general and thorough settlement of affairs on the southern boundary was a pressing necessity. A treaty was soon made (February 22, 1819) by which Spain ceded to the United States the whole of the Floridas and the adjacent islands. Just two



HUNTING THE BUFFALO

years afterward that country was erected into a Territory of the United States, and in March, 1821, General Jackson was appointed the first governor over the newly acquired domain.

The vast region known as Louisiana, which was ceded to the United States by France, was divided into two Territories called respectively the "Territory of New Orleans" and the "District of Louisiana." The first named, when it was admitted as a State in 1812, assumed the original name of Louisiana, and the Territory north of it received the name of Missouri. In 1819, the southern portion of the latter Territory was formed into a separate government and called Arkansas. At the same time the Territories of Maine and Missouri were making overtures for admission into the Union.

Now began the first earnest debate in Congress on the subject of the extension of the slave-labor system in our country. The first effort to check that extension was, as we have observed, in 1787, when the North-western Territory was organized. The subject was only briefly considered incidentally, from time to time, until 1819, when the inhabitants of the Missouri Territory asked for its admission into the Union as a State. A bill for that purpose was introduced into Congress which contained a provision forbidding the existence of slavery in the new State when admitted. This caused one of the most violent debates in the House of Representatives on the subject of slavery that had ever occurred in the national legislature. Extreme doctrines and foolish threats were uttered on both sides; and there was much adroit management by the party leaders, who used great dexterity in trying to avoid a compromise which had been agreed to at a previous session, when the subject was before the House. One party wished to have Missouri enter the Union as a slave-labor State, and the other party desired its admission as a free-labor State.

As compromise seemed to be the only door through which Missouri might enter the Union, at that time, Henry Clay, who then first assumed the character of a pacificator, moved a joint committee to consider whether or not it was expedient to admit Missouri into the Union, and if not, what provision adapted to her actual condition ought to be made. This motion was adopted, a committee was appointed, but the final result, which was a compromise, was not reached until early in 1821. During the session of 1820-21, the discussions were sometimes very angry. The whole country, in the meantime, had become violently agitated by disputes on the subject, and a cry went forth from unwise and unpatriotic lips at the North and in the South for a dissolution of the Union. Then for the first time the people of the Union were vehemently and decisively divided on the subject of slavery. A member of Congress from Georgia prophetically said in the course of the debate; "A fire has been kindled which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, and which only seas of blood can extinguish." A compromise was effected by the adoption of a provision in the bill (February, 1821) for the admission of Missouri, that in all territory south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude (the southern boundary of the State of Missouri) slavery might exist, but was prohibited in the region north of that line. This agreement, known as the "Missouri Compromise" (by which that Territory was admitted as a free-labor State), was respected for more than thirty years, when, in 1854, it was violated in favor of the slaveholders. Maine was admitted in 1820.

By this compromise the "fire" was smothered, but not extinguished.



It was kept alive by philanthropists and politicians in the North, who soon reproduced the anti-slavery societies which had existed at an early period in the history of the nation. So early as 1775, Dr. Franklin was president of an anti-slavery society, whose objects were approved by Washington and other leading patriots. The New York Manumission Society was established in 1785, with John Jay president; and similar societies were founded in other States, including Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, and these efforts resulted in the final abolition of slavery in all the States north of those just named. But the cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney in the closing decade of the last century, had made the cultivation of cotton so profitable, that there was a large increase in the demand for slave-labor and a consequent enhancement in the value of slaves. This change in the commercial aspect of the cotton plant and slave labor caused the dying institution of slavery to revive and assume extraordinary vigor.

Opposition to it practically ceased at the South, while at the North, the slave-system being unprofitable, that opposition continued, though for many years in a state of repose. It was aroused to action by the debates on the Missouri question. That agitation was succeeded by repose for ten years, when William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of *The Liberator* (1831) in Boston, which advocated the emancipation of the slaves as the duty of every master and the right of every bondman, and denounced slave-holding as a "sin against God and a crime against humanity." Arnold Buffum, a member of the Society of Friends, and some others, formed an anti-slavery society in Boston in 1832; and in 1833 a similar society was formed in Philadelphia by Arthur Tappan and others. Violent agitations ensued. By lectures, tracts and newspapers, the anti-slavery doctrine was disseminated all over the land; and so perilous to the



THE APPEAL.

Union seemed these proceedings, that official efforts were made to prevent anti-slavery publications being carried in the mail-bags of the United States. This stimulated the Abolitionists to more vigorous action, and the friends and opponents of their causes threatened the dissolution of the Union. Churches were dismembered, and political parties were formed with the great question of slavery as the central point of action. The Liberal Party was formed in 1840, and in 1848 it was absorbed by the Free-Soil Party. This, in turn, was absorbed by the Republican Party formed in 1856, which still exists, and which carried on the contest against the institution of slavery until it was utterly extinguished at the close of the late civil war. Thus the prophecy of the Georgian was fulfilled—the “fire” was extinguished by “seas of blood.”

The commerce of the United States was greatly injured by swarms of privateers under Spanish-American flags, who had degenerated into pirates and so become outlaws, subject to chastisement by any nation. They infested the West Indian seas and the northern coasts of South America. Against these pirates and to protect American commerce, our government sent Commodore Perry, with two ships-of-war, in the spring of 1819. Perry died of yellow fever in the performance of his duty, and very little was then done toward suppressing the pirates; but in 1822 a small American squadron destroyed more than twenty piratical vessels on the coasts of Cuba; and the next year Commodore Porter, with a larger force, completed the good work. It was the policy of the government of the United States to favor the revolt of the Spanish-American provinces, whose flag these pirates had dishonored, as a means for preventing the establishment, in the future, of monarchical powers on the American continent. The latter policy was avowed by the President, and has never been lost sight of by our government, and is known in history as the “Monroe Doctrine.” Accordingly, on the recommendation of the President, Congress, early in 1822, resolved by an almost unanimous vote to recognize the independence of five of the revolted colonies, and appropriated \$100,000 to defray the expenses of envoys to the seat of government of each, whom the President soon afterwards appointed.

While the Missouri question was pending, an election for President of the United States occurred. Never was a canvass carried on more quietly than this, and Monroe and Tompkins were re-elected by an almost unanimous vote, the old Federal party as a political organization being nearly extinct. Mr. Monroe's second term was not marked by any very important public occurrences, but a pleasing incident in our history distinguished the last year of his administration. It was the visit of General Lafayette to the

United States as the "nation's guest," he having been invited to come, by the President at the request of Congress. He declined the offer of a ship-of-the-line for his conveyance to this country, and with his son (George Washington) and his secretary he sailed from Havre for New York, where he arrived on the 15th of August, 1824. In the space of about eleven months he made a tour of about five thousand miles through the principal portions of the United States, and was everywhere greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. His journey was like an almost continual triumphal procession. Congress voted him \$200,000 and a township of land, "in consideration of his important services and expenditures during the American Revolution;" and when he was ready to return to France, an American frigate named the *Brandywine*, in compliment to him (the first battle for our independence in which he was engaged having been fought on the banks of the Brandywine in September, 1777), was sent by our government to convey him back. He had witnessed the greatness of the American republic; on his return he experienced the littleness of the Bourbon dynasty in France, for when on his arrival in Havre, a great concourse of the people assembled to make a demonstration in his honor, they were dispersed by the police.

Many interesting incidents occurred during Lafayette's tour through the country. A touching one was related to the writer, many years ago, by George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of General Washington. In October, 1824, Lafayette visited Mount Vernon and the tomb of Washington. He was conveyed to the shore from a steamboat in a barge, accompanied by his son (who had lived at Mount Vernon with Custis when they were boys), Secretary John C. Calhoun, and Mr. Custis. At the shore he was received by Lawrence Lewis, a nephew of Washington, and the family of Judge Bushrod Washington, who was absent on official business. He was conducted to the mansion where, forty years before, he took his last leave of the Patriot whom he most sincerely loved as a father. Then the company proceeded to the tomb of Washington (the old one on the brow of the hill), when Mr. Custis, after a brief speech, presented the general with a gold ring containing a lock of Washington's hair. Lafayette received it with emotion, and after thanking the donor, he affectionately embraced him and the other gentlemen present. Then he fervently pressed his lips to the door of the vault. It was opened, and there were displayed the coffins of Washington and his wife, decorated with flowers. The general descended the steps, kissed the leaden caskets while tears suffused his cheeks, and then reverently retired.

When Monroe's administration of eight years was drawing to a close, the task of choosing his successor devolved upon the people. There were

several prominent men spoken of as candidates, and the choice was not a political but a personal affair. The nomination, in the state of political parties at that time, if done with unanimity, would be equivalent to an election. But candidates were too numerous to insure unanimity. The principal ones were William H. Crawford, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Andrew Jackson. The elections held in the autumn of 1824, showed conclusively that not one of the candidates would be elected by the popular vote, and that the choice would devolve upon the House of Representatives. This was determined by the vote of the electoral colleges; and in February, 1825, the House of Representatives chose John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for President, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina for Vice President, by the votes of thirteen States.

The administration of Mr. Monroe, which ended on the 4th of March, 1825, was not marked by any very important events besides those already mentioned, excepting the passage of an act making provision, in a degree, by pensions, for the widows and children of deceased soldiers of the War for Independence and of 1812-15; also an arrangement with Great Britain by which American citizens were allowed to share with those of that realm in the valuable Newfoundland fisheries. At about the same time the boundary between the United States and the American-British possessions from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was defined. The industries of the country were readjusted. In New England, in which capital had been chiefly employed in commerce, navigation and the fisheries, manufactures soon became a favorite pursuit, and under the stimulating influence of high tariffs established in 1816 and 1818, was amply remunerative. The business of the country was generally very prosperous. The population had rapidly increased; the paper currency of the country was contracted and restored to a specie basis. Cotton had become the staple production of the Southern States; the manufactures of the country had increased tenfold, and the tonnage threefold; the national debt had dwindled from \$127,000,000 in 1816, to less than \$80,000,000, and the banking capital of the country was \$127,000,000. Such was the general condition of our country when John Quincy Adams, then fifty-seven years of age, was elevated to the office of President of the republic.





## CHAPTER XVII.

PRESIDENT JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—THE GEORGIANS AND THE INDIANS—THE ERIE CANAL—WEDDING THE LAKES AND THE SEA—DEATH OF ADAMS AND JEFFERSON—SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS—THE AMERICAN SYSTEM—A NATIONAL CONVENTION AND ITS RESULTS—ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT ADAMS—PRESIDENT JACKSON'S INAUGURATION, CHARACTER AND POLICY—REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES—UNITED STATES BANK—BLACK HAWK WAR—STATE SUPREMACY AND NULLIFICATION—WAR ON THE UNITED STATES BANK—SPECULATION AND THE CREDIT SYSTEM—WAR WITH THE SEMINOLES—INTERCOURSE WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—INDEMNITIES SETTLED—COMMERCIAL TREATIES—NEW STATES—JACKSON'S LAST OFFICIAL ACT.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, son of the second President of the United States, entered upon the duties of that high office on the 4th of March, 1825. He was small in stature, a thorough republican in principles, and with political views consonant with those held by Mr. Monroe. The Senate was in session at the time of his inauguration, and that body, by unanimous vote, immediately confirmed Mr. Adams's nominations for cabinet ministers, excepting Henry Clay, against whose confirmation fourteen votes were cast. It had been charged that Mr. Clay, seeing little chance for his own election to the Presidency, had used his influence in favor of Adams and against Jackson with the understanding that he was to be appointed Secretary of State. This alleged "bargain" was the cause of opposition to Clay's confirmation. He was appointed Secretary of State; Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt, Attorney-General.

Mr. Adams's administration began under the most pleasant auspices. The country was at peace with all nations, and no serious domestic trouble appeared, while general prosperity reigned in the land and there seemed to be nothing that would disturb the serenity of public affairs. This quietude prevailed, in a degree, during the whole of Mr. Adams's administration of four years, which were the least conspicuous for stirring events in the history of the republic. The discords engendered by the late exciting election had produced healthful agitation, but measures were adopted that caused stormy times in the administration that followed.

A threatening cloud appeared in the firmament at the beginning of Adams's administration. When Georgia relinquished her claim to a considerable portion of the Mississippi Territory, the national government agreed to purchase for that State the Indian lands within its borders "whenever it could be peaceably done upon reasonable terms." The Creeks and the Cherokees, who were practising the arts of civilized life, refused to sell their lands and remove into an uncultivated wilderness. The Georgians were impatient, and their governor demanded of the United States the



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

instant fulfillment of the contract, by a removal of the Indians. He ordered a survey of their lands to be made, and he prepared to distribute their possessions among the citizens of Georgia; and because the national government seemed tardy, he assumed the right to remove the Indians himself. Our government took the just position of defenders of the Indians, and for awhile the matter bore a serious aspect. The difficulties were finally settled, and in the course of a few years the Creeks and Cherokees were settled on lands beyond the Mississippi River.

It was at the beginning of Mr. Adams's administration that the greatest work of internal im-

provement ever undertaken in our country, in the interest of commerce, was completed. It was the Erie Canal, which traverses the State of New York in an east and west line three hundred and sixty-three miles, between Buffalo and Albany, and connects the water of the great upper lakes and those of the Hudson River by a navigable stream. It was constructed by the State of New York at a cost of \$7,600,000; and it was the consummation of a scheme which General Philip Schuyler (the father of the American canal system), Elkanah Watson, Gouverneur Morris, Jesse Hawley, De Witt Clinton and others had cherished for years. It was the grand result of a suggestion made by Gouverneur Morris twenty-five years before. When the canal was completed in 1825, it was formally

opened to commerce after a grand "celebration," which consisted of an aquatic procession from Albany to the sea, in November of that year. The flotilla, led by the steamboat *Chancellor Livingston*, with De Witt Clinton (then governor of New York) and State officers on board, was composed of steamers and canal-boats. It halted at the city of New York; and on a cool and brilliant November morning, the whole fleet, accompanied by other vessels, went down the bay, everywhere greeted by the roar of cannon



WEDDING OF THE LAKES WITH THE OCEAN.

and the unfurling of banners, and passing out the Narrows, were soon floating on the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean near Sandy Hook. There the *Chancellor Livingston* was anchored, with a swarm of other vessels around her, which were gayly decorated with flags and crowded with people. At a proper time Governor Clinton advanced to the taffrail of the *Chancellor Livingston*, and holding up a keg containing water of Lake Erie, which had been brought from Buffalo in a canal-boat, and pouring the liquid into the sea, completed the nuptials of the Ocean and the Great Lakes—nuptial ceremonies more important and significant than were ever performed in the wedding of the Doge of Venice and the Adriatic. That great work of internal improvement gave rise to similar ones elsewhere, and was of vast

benefit to the whole country. The Erie Canal continues to be the channel of a wonderful outflow of the agricultural products of the West to the seaboard, and of the inflow of the merchandise from the Atlantic ports to the interior. During the year 1872 (the year before the great depression in the business of the country began), the value of the property that was transported on that canal was \$168,000,000; notwithstanding a three-track railway, carrying an immense amount of freight, is laid parallel to it in its entire length.

The venerable father of the President, John Adams, died at Quincy, Massachusetts, on the 4th of July, 1826, just fifty years, almost to an hour, after the Declaration of Independence was adopted. On the same day and almost at the same hour, Thomas Jefferson expired, at Monticello, in Virginia. Mr. Adams was about ninety-one years of age, and Mr. Jefferson about eighty-three. They were both members of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Jefferson was its literary author, and Mr. Adams was its chief supporter in the Congress. The death, simultaneously, of these two of the chief founders of the republic, produced a profound sensation; and in many places throughout the Union, eulogies and funeral orations were pronounced.

The most important movement in the foreign policy of Adams's administration was the appointment of commissioners to attend a congress of representatives of the South American Republics, which assembled at Panama, on the Pacific coast, on the 22d of June, 1826. The result of that congress was not very important; but the policy of sending to it representatives of the government of the United States, caused much discussion here.

The *American System*, as it was called (a system of protection and encouragement for American manufacturing establishments, by means of high duties imposed on fabrics made abroad and imported into the United States), was fully developed and assumed the form of a national policy late in the administration of Mr. Adams. On account of the illiberal commercial policy of Great Britain, tariff laws were enacted in 1816 as retaliative measures; and in 1824 imposts were laid on foreign fabrics imported into our country, for the avowed purpose of encouraging home manufactures. These movements were opposed by the cotton-growers, as inimical to their interests; and to a national convention assembled at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1826, to discuss the general subject of tariffs and manufactures, only four of the slave-labor States sent delegates. That convention petitioned Congress to increase the duties on foreign fabrics that were specified, and it was done in the spring of 1828. The measure pleased the manufacturing interest, and displeased the cotton-growing interest. It



was denounced in some of the Southern States as oppressive and unconstitutional, and resistance to the law was suggested.

In the autumn of 1828, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were rival candidates for the Presidency of the United States. Jackson was elected, with John C. Calhoun as Vice-President, by a very large majority, after a most exciting canvass, during which, a stranger to our institutions, looking on, would have believed the nation to be on the verge of civil war. Mr. Adams's administration closed on the 4th of March, 1829. It had been marked by great tranquillity and unexampled national prosperity. Peaceful relations with foreign nations existed, and the national debt had been diminished at the rate of more than \$7,000,000 a year, it being at the time of his retirement about \$58,000,000. This real prosperity he bequeathed to his successor, and he left the chair of state blessed with the grateful benedictions of the survivors of two wars and their families, to whom had been distributed in pensions, during the four years, more than \$5,000,000.

Jackson, when a lad, had served as a soldier in the old war for independence; and when he proceeded from his lodgings, in Washington city, to the Capitol, to be inaugurated on the 4th of March,

1829, he was escorted by surviving officers and soldiers of that war. His valorous deeds in the second war for independence (1812-'15) were remembered by the soldiers of the latter war, and they thronged the national capital on that day to witness the exaltation of the chief.

President Jackson was honest, brave, and true to his moral convictions. He began his administration with an audacity of conduct that amazed his political friends, and alarmed his enemies. He swept his political opponents out of the various offices; but in making new appointments, he aimed to



ANDREW JACKSON.

have the incumbent answer the searching queries in the affirmative—"Is he capable? Is he honest?" His foreign policy was indicated in his instructions to Louis McLane, his first minister to England, in which he said: "Ask nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing that is wrong." Jackson was so decided in his opinions and actions—so positive in character—that he was thoroughly loved or thoroughly hated; and for eight years he braved the fierce tempests that arose out of partisan strifes, domestic perplexities and foreign arrogance, with a skill and courage that challenge our profound admiration.

At the beginning of Jackson's administration, the government of Georgia renewed its demand for the removal of the powerful Cherokee nation from that State. The President favored the demand, and white people proceeded to take possession of Cherokee estates which had been assigned to them. These Indians were then advanced in civilization, many of them being successful agriculturists. They had churches and schools, and a printing-press; and as they were disposed to defend their rights, civil war appeared inevitable for awhile. In 1832, the Supreme Court of the United States decided against the claim of Georgia, when that State, supported by the President, resisted the decision. An amicable settlement was finally reached; and under the mild coercion of General Winfield Scott and several thousand troops, the Cherokees left Georgia in 1838, and went to lands assigned them well toward the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, where they still remain, with Creeks, Choctaws and others as their neighbors.

In his first annual message, President Jackson took strong ground against a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, which would expire in 1836. As we have observed, that charter was never renewed by Congress. The discussions on the subject, for several years, kept the commercial community in a state of feverish excitement. It was occasionally varied by some contra-excitement, like that of the "Black Hawk War" in 1832. At that time the region now known as the State of Wisconsin was an almost unbroken wilderness. Several Indian tribes inhabited it; and these, led by Black Hawk, a fierce Sac chief, made war upon the frontier settlers of Illinois in April, 1832. After some skirmishes with United States troops and the militia of Illinois, the Indians were driven beyond the Mississippi, and their leader, made captive, was taken to eastern cities, that he might be impressed with the folly of contending with a nation so numerous and strong.

Now began a conflict which shook the republic to its very centre. The doctrine of State sovereignty, or State supremacy, formulated in the first constitution of the republic known as the *Articles of Confederation*, and

discarded in the second constitution, yet prevailed, especially in South Carolina, where John C. Calhoun was its most earnest exponent. The discontents alluded to growing out of the tariff acts, and crystallized by the alchemy of this doctrine, assumed the concrete form of incipient rebellion against the national government when, in the spring of 1832, an act of Congress was passed imposing additional duties on imported textile fabrics. A State convention of delegates was held in South Carolina in November following, at which it was declared that the tariff acts were unconstitutional and therefore null and void; and it was resolved that no duties should be collected in the port of Charleston by the national government. It was also proclaimed that any attempt to enforce the law would be resisted by the people in arms, and would cause the secession of South Carolina from the Union. The State Legislature that met soon afterward passed laws in support of this declaration, and military preparations were made for that purpose. Civil war seemed to be inevitable, but the President met the exigency with his usual promptness and vigor. On the 10th of December he issued a proclamation (written by Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury), in which he denied the right of any State to nullify an act of the national government, and warned those engaged in the movement in South Carolina that the laws of the United States would be enforced by military power, if necessary. The "nullifiers" yielded to necessity for the moment, but their zeal and determination were not abated. Great anxiety filled the public mind for a time, until Henry Clay, one of the most earnest promoters of the *American System*, appeared as a pacificator, by offering a bill (February 12, 1833) which provided for a gradual reduction of the obnoxious duties during the next ten years. This compromise was accepted by both parties, and the bill became a law in March. Discord ceased, and the dark cloud gave way to sunshine. President Jackson had been re-elected to the Chief Magistracy in the autumn of 1832, with Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. The latter had been Secretary of State, and was appointed by the President, during the recess of Congress, to succeed Mr. McLane as minister to England. The Senate afterward refused to ratify the appointment, and Van Buren was recalled. This act was regarded as a gratuitous indignity offered to the administration. Its friends made use of it to create sympathy for the rejected minister, and he was elected to preside over the body which had declared him to be unfit to represent the republic at the British court. The result completely alienated Calhoun from the administration.

While the country was agitated by the movements of the nullifiers, the President himself produced equal excitement by beginning a series of acts

in his warfare upon the United States Bank which were denounced as high-handed and tyrannical. In his annual message in December, 1832, the President recommended Congress to authorize the removal from that institution of the government moneys deposited in it, and to sell the stock of the bank owned by the United States. Congress refused to do so. After the adjournment of that body, the President took the responsibility of ordering Mr. Duane, the Secretary of the Treasury, to withdraw the public funds (amounting to about \$10,000,000) from the bank, and deposit them in certain State banks. The Secretary refused, when the President removed him from office, and put in his place R. B. Tancy, then the Attorney-General and afterward Chief-Justice, who obeyed his superior. The removal of the funds began in October, 1833, and a large portion of them were drawn out in the course of four months; the remainder, by the end of nine months. This transaction produced great public excitement and much commercial distress. The amount of loans of the bank was over \$60,000,000 on the first of October, when the removal was begun; and so intricate were the relations of that institution with the business of the country, that when the functions of the bank were paralyzed, all commercial operations felt a deadening shock. This fact confirmed the opinion of the President that it was a dangerous institution, and he refused to listen favorably to all prayers for a modification of his measures, or for action for relief made by numerous committees of merchants, manufacturers and mechanics, who waited upon him. To all of them he said, in substance: "The government can give no relief nor provide a remedy; the banks are the occasion of the evils which exist, and those who have suffered by trading largely on borrowed capital ought to break; you have no one to blame but yourselves." The State banks received the government funds on deposit, and loaned them freely. The panic subsided; confidence was gradually restored, and apparent general prosperity returned.

The appearance was deceptive. Speculation was stimulated by the freedom with which the banks loaned the public funds, and the credit system was enormously expanded. Trade was brisk; the shipping interest was prosperous; prices ruled high; luxury abounded, and nobody seemed to perceive the under-current of disaster that was surely wasting the foundations of the absurd credit system and the real prosperity of the nation. It collapsed at the touch of the Ithurian spear of Necessity. A failure of the grain crop of England caused a large demand for corn to pay for food products abroad. The Bank of England, seeing exchanges running high and higher against that country, contracted its loans and admonished houses who were giving long and extensive credits to the Americans, by the use of



money borrowed from the bank, to curtail that hazardous business. At about the same time the famous "Specie Circular" went out from our Treasury Department (July, 1836), directing all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but coin. From the parlor of the Bank of England and from the Treasury of the United States went forth the unwelcome fiat, Pay up! American houses in London failed for many millions; and every bank in the United States suspended specie payments in 1837, but resumed in 1839. Then the United States Bank, chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania, fell into hopeless ruin, and with it went down a very large number of the State banks of the country. A general bankrupt law, passed in 1841, relieved of debt almost forty thousand persons, whose liabilities amounted in the aggregate to about \$441,000,000.

These financial troubles were preceded by the breaking out of war with the Seminole Indians in East Florida, a consequence of an attempt to remove them, by force, to the wilderness west of the Mississippi River. Led by Micanopy, their principal sachem and chief, they began a most distressing warfare upon the frontier settlements of Florida, in which Osceola, a chief superior in ability to Micanopy (for he possessed the cunning of Tecumtha and the heroism of a Metacomet), was an active leader for awhile, for he had private wrongs to revenge.

In the spring of 1832, some of the Seminole chiefs, in council, agreed to leave Florida, and made a treaty to that effect. Other chiefs (among whom was Osceola) and the great body of the nation resolved to stay, declaring that the treaty was not binding upon them. At length, in 1834, General Wiley Thompson was sent to Florida with troops to prepare for a forcible removal of the Indians. Osceola stirred up the nation to resistance. One day his insolent bearing and offensive words in the presence of Thompson caused that general to put the chief in irons and in a prison for a day. Osceola's wounded pride called for vengeance, and it was fearfully wrought during a war that lasted about seven years. By bravery, skill, strategies and treachery, he over-matched the United States troops sent against him and commanded by some of the best officers in the service.

The first blow was struck in December, 1835. Osceola had agreed to send some horses and cattle to General Thompson; but at the very time he was to do so, the savage was, with a small war party, murdering the unsuspecting inhabitants on the borders of the everglades—a region mostly covered with water and grass, and affording a secure hiding-place for the Indians. At that time General Clinch was occupying Fort Drane with a small body of troops. That post was in the interior of Florida, forty miles eastward of the mouth of the Withlacoochee River, and the garrison was

now exposed to much danger from the hostilities of the Indians. Major Dade, with over a hundred soldiers, was sent from Fort Brooke, at the head of Tampa Bay, to the relief of Clinch; and on the 28th of December (1835) he fell into an ambush, when himself and his followers were all massacred excepting four men, who afterward died from the effects of the encounter. That sad event occurred near Wahoo Swamp, on the upper waters of the Withlacoochee. On the same day Osceola and a small war party stole unobserved up to a store a few yards from Fort King (about sixty miles southwest of St. Augustine), where General Thompson and five of his friends were dining, and murdered them. Osceola killed and scalped General Thompson with his own hand, and so he enjoyed the revenge he had sought. Three days later, General Clinch had a sharp fight with the Seminoles on the Withlacoochee; and on the last day of February, 1836, General Gaines was assailed at the same place.

The Creeks helped their brethren in Florida by attacking white settlers within their ancient domain, in the spring of 1836. Made bold by success, they extended their depredations and murderous forays into Georgia and other parts of Alabama, attacking mail-carriers on horseback, stage-coaches on the land, and steamboats on the rivers; and finally they assailed villages, until thousands of men, women and children, were seen flying for their lives from place to place to escape the tomahawk, the bullet, and the scalping-knife. General Winfield Scott was now in chief command in the South, and he prosecuted the war with so much vigor that the Creeks were speedily subdued; and during the summer of 1836, thousands of them were removed to the wilderness west of the Mississippi. At mid-autumn, General Call of Georgia led about two thousand militia and volunteers from that State against the Seminoles. Near the place of the massacre of Dade's command, a detachment of them, about five hundred in number, had a severe battle with the savages on the 25th of November; but like all other encounters with these Indians in their swampy fastnesses, it was not decisive. In that region the United States troops suffered dreadfully from miasmatic fevers, the bites of venomous serpents, and the stings of insects; and the year 1836 closed with no prospect of peace. Indeed the war continued all the winter; but finally, in March, 1837, several chiefs appeared before General Jesup, then in chief command there, at his quarters at Fort Dade, and signed a treaty, which was intended to secure an immediate peace and the instant departure of the Seminoles to the new home prepared for them. The wily Osceola caused this treaty to be violated. The war was renewed; and during the summer of 1837, many more troops perished in the swamps while pursuing the savages. At length the treacherous chief became a

prisoner in the hands of General Jesup. That officer received Osceola and other chiefs, with a train of seventy warriors, under a flag of truce, in a grove of magnolias in the dark swamp. As the chief arose to speak, Jesup gave a signal, when two or three of his soldiers rushed forward and seized and bound Osceola with strong cords. He made no resistance; but several of his excited followers drew their gleaming hatchets from their belts. The muskets and bayonets of Jesup's troops restrained them, and



INDIANS ATTACKING MAIL-CARRIAGES.

they were dismissed without their leader, who was sent to Charleston and confined in Fort Moultrie. There he died of a fever, and a small monument was erected over his grave near the main entrance to the fort. Jesup was severely censured for this violation of the sanctity of a flag; his plea in his justification was that it was the only way to stop the distressing war, for Osceola could not be held by the most solemn obligations of a treaty. Osceola's captivity was a severe blow to the Seminoles; but under other leaders they continued to resist notwithstanding almost nine thousand

United States troops were in their territory at the close of 1837. Their fastnesses in the everglades could not be penetrated by the troops and they defied them, even after they received a severe chastisement from six hundred national soldiers under Colonel Zachary Taylor (afterward President of the United States), who had succeeded General Jesup. This chastisement was given them in a battle fought on Christmas day, on the northern border of Macaco Lake. For more than two years afterward Taylor and his men endured great hardships in trying to bring the war to a close. A treaty for that purpose was made in May, 1839, but so lightly did its obligations bind the Indians that they continued their depredations. It was not until 1842 that a permanent peace was secured, when scores of valuable lives and millions of treasure had been wasted in a war that had its origin in the injustice of the white man toward his dusky neighbor.

In the intercourse of President Jackson's administration with foreign governments, his instructions given to Minister McLane, already alluded to, formed the basis of action. He demanded what was right with vigor, and refused to submit to what was wrong on all occasions; and by this course he secured to our republic the profound respect of the nations of the globe. At the end of his first term, the foreign relations of our government were very satisfactory, excepting with France. That government, by a treaty which he had vigorously pressed to a conclusion, had agreed to pay to the United States \$5,000,000, by instalments, as indemnity for injury to American commerce, which the operations of the various decrees of Napoleon from 1806 until 1811 had inflicted. The legislative branch of the French government did not promptly comply with the provisions of the treaty, and the President assumed a hostile attitude. The affair was finally settled in 1836, before Jackson left the chair of state. Similar claims were made against Portugal, and payment obtained; and for similar reasons the king of Naples agreed to pay to the United States \$1,720,000. Commercial treaties were made with several European states and with the Sultan of Turkey; and when Jackson retired from office in the spring of 1837, our republic, with its national debt extinguished, was more respected than ever by the powers of the earth.

During the administration of President Jackson, of eight years, two new States were admitted into the Union, making the whole number twenty-six. These were Arkansas and Michigan. The former was admitted in June, 1836, and the latter in January, 1837. At that time Jackson's administration was drawing to a close. Martin Van Buren, who had been nominated for the Presidency, with the understanding that if elected he would continue the general policy of Jackson, was chosen to that office by a very



large majority of the popular vote. The people failed to elect a Vice-President, when the Senate chose Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for that office.

President Jackson offended a large class of the people of the United States by his last official act. So loud was the public clamor against the "Specie Circular," that a bill for the partial repeal of the measure was



SEIZURE OF OSCEOLA.

passed by both Houses of Congress at near the close of the session in 1837. The President refused to sign this bill; and to prevent its becoming a law by a two-thirds vote after he should veto it, he kept it in his hands until Congress had adjourned. His message giving his reasons for withholding his signature was dated "March 3d, 1837, a quarter before 12 P. M."

President Jackson now retired to his seat "The Hermitage," in Tennessee. He was then seventy years of age. He never entered public life again; and there, at that beautiful retreat, he died in June, 1845, when he was more than seventy-eight years of age.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

INAUGURATION OF MR. VAN BUREN—A COMMERCIAL REVULSION—EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS—INSURRECTION IN THE CANADAS—BURNING OF THE CAROLINE—NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY TROUBLES—THE ASHBURTON TREATY—"HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN"—GENERAL HARRISON ELECTED PRESIDENT—DIVORCE OF BANKS AND STATE—HARRISON'S INAUGURATION AND DEATH—JOHN TYLER BECOMES PRESIDENT—HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES—EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS—BILLS FOR A NATIONAL BANK PASSED AND VETOED—DISSOLUTION OF THE CABINET—SOUTH SEA EXPLORING EXPEDITION—SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION—TROUBLE IN RHODE ISLAND—TEXAS AND ITS ANNEXATION—A SAD ACCIDENT—OREGON—PRESIDENT TYLER'S RETIREMENT.

IT seemed to be the opening of a new era in the history of our Republic, when, on the 4th of March, 1837, Martin Van Buren of New York, of Dutch descent, was inaugurated the eighth President of the United States. His predecessors in that office were all of British stock, and had been personally engaged in the events of the old war for independence; he was born at near the close of that war, and was in the fifty-fifth year of his age when he entered the chair of state. The day of his inauguration was bright and serene, and he rode from the Presidential mansion to the Capitol by the side of the venerable Jackson, in a phaeton made largely of wood of the frigate *Constitution*, which the political friends of the general had presented to him. They were escorted by the military, horse and foot, and the new President, when he had taken the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address, was warmly greeted by the shouts of a great multitude of people.

Mr. Van Buren's administration began at an inauspicious time, for the fearful commercial revulsion, already alluded to, had just begun. During March and April, 1837, there were mercantile failures in the city of New York to the amount of more than one hundred million dollars. Only fifteen months before, property to the amount of more than twenty million dollars had been consumed by a great fire, which occurred in December, 1835, when more than five hundred buildings were destroyed. The effects of these losses and failures at the commercial emporium were felt in every part of the Union, and business confidence received a paralyzing shock. A deputation of merchants and bankers of New York waited upon the President in May with a petition praying him to defer the collection of duties, rescind

the "Specie Circular," and call an extraordinary session of Congress. Their prayer was rejected, and when that fact became known nearly all the banks in the country suspended specie payment. This movement embarrassed the government, for it was unable to obtain coin wherewith to discharge its own financial obligations. So situated, the public good demanded legislative relief, and the President called an extraordinary session of Congress on the 4th of September. In his message to that body, he proposed the establishment of an independent treasury for the public funds, totally disconnected with all banking institutions; but during a session of forty-three days, Congress did very little for the general relief, excepting the authorizing of an issue of treasury notes, in amount not exceeding ten million dollars. The independent treasury scheme met with violent opposition, but a bill to that effect became a law in July, 1840, and the "Sub-Treasury System" was put into operation.

Peaceful relations between the United States and Great Britain, which had then existed many years, were somewhat disturbed in 1837 and 1838 by events connected with a revolutionary movement that broke out in Canada, the avowed

object being to achieve the independence of the provinces of British rule. In this effort our people sympathized, and gave the insurgents all possible aid and comfort. Individuals and organized companies went across the border and joined the insurgents; and refugees from Canada were protected here. The agitation and the outbreak occurred simultaneously in Upper and Lower Canada, but local jealousies prevented a unity of action, and the scheme failed. The active sympathy of the people of the "States," and especially along the northern frontier, irritated the British government. The President issued a proclamation, warning Americans not to violate neutrality and international laws; and he sent General Winfield Scott to the northern frontier to preserve order. It was not permanently effected until at the end of about four years.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Many stirring incidents occurred on the frontier during that outbreak in the Canadas, the most conspicuous of which was on the bosom of the Niagara River. A party of Americans, seven hundred in number, with twenty cannon, took possession of Navy Island, in that stream, two miles above the Great Falls. They had a small steamboat named *Caroline*, that plied between the Island and Schollosser, on the New York shore. One dark night in December, 1837, a party of royalists crossed the river from Canada, set the *Caroline* on fire, cut her loose from her moorings, and allowed her to go blazing down the fearful rapids and over the crown of the mighty cataract into the seething gulf below. It was believed that some persons were on board the *Caroline*, and perished with her.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Another cause for unpleasant feeling between the governments of the United States and Great Britain was a long-standing dispute concerning the true boundary between the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. The inhabitants of each frontier had become so exasperated, that at the close of 1838 they were preparing for actual war. General Scott was sent to the scene of strife as a pacificator in the winter of 1839, and the dispute was settled by a treaty negotiated by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, the same year.

Provision was made in the same treaty for the co-operation of the two governments in the suppression of the African slave trade; also for the giving up of fugitives from justice, in certain cases. This is known in history as the Ashburton Treaty.

Mr. Van Buren was a candidate for the Presidency a second time, and was nominated for that office by the unanimous vote of the Democratic convention assembled at Baltimore in 1840. In December, 1839, a national Whig convention, held at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, nominated General William Henry Harrison of Ohio for President and John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President. The canvass was a very exciting one, and the method



of carrying it on by one party was exceedingly demoralizing. Because Harrison lived in the West and his residence was formerly a log-cabin, such a structure became the symbol of his party; and because of his proverbial hospitality, that quality was symbolized by a barrel of cider. Log-cabins were erected all over the country as places for political gatherings, and seas of cider were drank in them. Young and old partook freely of the beverage, and the meetings were often mere drunken carousals that were injurious to all, and especially to youth. Many a drunkard afterward sadly charged his departure from the path of sobriety to the "Hard Cider" campaign of 1840. Demagogues, as usual, had made the people believe that a change in administration would restore prosperity to the country, and they adroitly held the administration of Van Buren responsible for nearly all the woes the country was suffering. The consequence was that Harrison and Tyler were elected by overwhelming majorities; and in the spring of 1841, Mr. Van Buren surrendered the Presidential chair to the popular soldier of the West.

Fifty years had now elapsed since the formation of the government under the new constitution. The number of the States had doubled, and the population had reached about seventeen million souls. The resources of the country had been largely developed, especially its mineral treasures of coal and iron. The railway system was fairly established, and the settlement of the West was in rapid progress. From the beginning of the career of the republic, the State and banking institutions had been closely wedded; the chief event of Mr. Van Buren's administration was their absolute divorce. They were reunited during the late civil war, and their nuptials, under better auspices, have been fruitful of blessings to the country.

General Harrison was an old man—sixty-eight years of age—when he



THE HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN.

entered upon the duties of chief magistrate of the nation. He seemed vigorous in mind and body when he delivered his inaugural address from the eastern portico of the Capitol. It was received with favor by all parties, for it was full of wisdom; and confidence was half restored in the commercial world, when it was known that he had chosen Daniel Webster for Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, Secretary of War; George E. Badger, Secretary of the Navy; Francis Granger, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. This beginning gave omen of the dawn of a day of prosperity for the land, and there were glad hearts everywhere. But the anthems of the inaugural day were speedily changed into solemn dirges. The hopes centred in the new President were extinguished; for precisely one month after he took the oath of office from Chief-Justice Taney, he died. He had performed only one official act of great importance during his brief administration, and that was the issuing of a proclamation on the 17th of March, calling an extraordinary session of Congress in May to consider the subjects of finance and revenue.

John Tyler, the Vice-President, became the constitutional successor of President Harrison. He was called to Washington from Williamsburg in Virginia, by a message sent by Harrison's cabinet-ministers on the 4th of April (the day on which the President died), and he was in the national capital at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th. At noon, the cabinet-ministers called upon him in a body, and he took the oath of office, administered by Judge Cranch. To the gentlemen present, after alluding to the deceased President, Mr. Tyler said, "You have only exchanged one Whig for another." He had been a Democrat of the school of strict constructionists of the Constitution, but when he was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, he had avowed himself to be a firm and decided Whig. It seems proper here, in order to better understand the brief record of events that follow, to give an outline sketch of political parties in the United States at that time.

We have seen that the Federal party was cast into a minority on the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1800, and continued in opposition until the close of Madison's administration in 1817, when they soon afterward became extinct as a national party; the administration of Mr. Monroe being so generally satisfactory, that opposition practically ceased. When, in 1824, Adams and Jackson, Crawford and Clay, became rival candidates for the Presidency, separate political organizations of a personal nature were formed, composed of Federalists and Democrats intermingled; but when Jackson was elected to the chief magistracy in 1828, his supporters claimed the name of Democrats. His opponents took the name of National Republicans, but when in

1833 and 1834 they were joined by seceders of the Democratic party, they took the title of Whigs. At the accession of Mr. Van Buren in 1837, the great national parties into which the people were divided were known respectively as Democrats and Whigs. Several minor parties (some of them local in their organization), such as the Anti-Masons in the Eastern States; the State-Rights men in the South, who were opposed to the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank; and the supporters of Jackson in Georgia, Tennessee and other States, who were opposed to Van Buren, generally acted with the Whig party.

Even before the elevation of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency, the Democratic party had been divided in the Northern and Middle States. There arose in its ranks, in 1835, in the city of New York, a combination opposed to all moneyed institutions and monopolies of every sort. They were the successor of the defunct Workingmen's party, formed in 1829, and called themselves the "Equal Rights Party." They acted with much caution and secrecy in their opposition to the powerful National Democratic party. They never rose above the dignity of a faction, and their first decided demonstration was made in Tammany Hall, one evening at the close of October, 1835, when the "Equal Rights" men objected to some names on the ticket to be put before the people. There was a struggle for the chair, which the "regulars" obtained, declared their ticket and resolutions adopted, and then attempted to adjourn the meeting and put out the lights. The opposition were prepared for this emergency by having "loco-foco" or friction matches in their pockets, with which they immediately restored light to the room, placed their leader in the chair, adopted an "Equal Rights" Democratic ticket, and passed strong resolutions against all monopolies. The faction was ever afterward known as the Loco-Focos, and the name was finally applied by the Whigs to the whole Democratic party. This faction became formidable, and the regulars endeavored to conciliate the irregulars by nominating Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, their favorite candidate for the Presidency, for Vice-President, with Mr. Van Buren. The advocacy of an extensive specie currency by the latter, and his proposition for a sub-treasury, alienated another portion of the Democratic party, and they formed a powerful faction known as "Conservatives." This faction finally joined the Whigs, and in 1840 aided in the election of Harrison and Tyler.

The first extraordinary session of the Twenty-seventh Congress began on the 31st of May, 1841, and continued until the 13th of September following. Subjects of grave importance to the nation were presented to that body, chief of which was that of the finances of the country. The Secretary of

the Treasury (Mr. Ewing) strongly urged the necessity of a national bank, and recommended Congress to charter one with a capital of thirty-million dollars. At the request of Congress (whose action was suggested by the President), the Secretary reported a plan of a "Fiscal Bank of the United States," with a bill for its incorporation. He endeavored to free the plan from the constitutional objections to preceding institutions of a similar nature. It was known that the President had decided constitutional objections to the old bank and had assisted Jackson in his warfare upon it; and a bill was finally framed, partly upon the plan proposed by the Secretary, and partly by one proposed in the Senate by Mr. Clay, which the President, it was said, had declared met his views. It was passed on the 6th of August, as eminently the great Whig measure of the session, and one which was to restore confidence to the business community and inaugurate a day of national prosperity. It was sent to the President for his signature, when, to the great disappointment of his political friends, he returned it with his objections ten days after its passage. The Whigs in Congress were bewildered, and great anxiety was felt throughout the country. There was not a sufficient number of its supporters in Congress to enable them to carry the measure over the President's veto, and they hastened to construct a new bill that would meet his views. He was visited by two members deputed for the purpose, and a bill in accordance with his wishes was drawn up and submitted to Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, who laid it before Mr. Tyler. The latter approved it, and it was sent to the House of Representatives and passed by that body. In conformity to his wishes the name of "Bank" was omitted in the latter.

While the second bill was pending in Congress, a private letter written by the late John M. Botts of Virginia, concerning the veto, was made public. He charged the President with infidelity to the party in power, saying: "One Captain Tyler is making a desperate effort to set himself up with the Loco-Focos, but he'll be headed yet, and, I regret to say, it will end badly for him. He will be an object of execration with both parties. . . . He has refused to listen to the admonitions of his best friends, and looked only to the whisperings of ambitious and designing mischief-makers who have collected around him." This letter so irritated the President that, allowing his personal feelings to control his public action, he resolved to oppose any bank bill that might be offered at that session. The second bill, which the President had approved, was passed without alteration on the 3d of September. He had expressed a strong desire, at the beginning of the session, to have the matter postponed until the regular session, but the friends of the measure in Congress and throughout the country demanded immediate



action. The bill was submitted to the President for his signature, and pursuant to his resolve, he vetoed it on the 9th—six days after its adoption. In consequence of this act, the Whigs, who had elevated Mr. Tyler to his high dignity, were greatly exasperated, and he was denounced as unfaithful to solemn pledges and as a secret enemy, who was playing into the hands of his late associates, the Democrats. All of Mr. Tyler's cabinet-ministers resigned excepting Mr. Webster, who patriotically remained at his post because grave public interests connected with his department required it. In fact, Mr. Webster felt that the bank matter had been pushed with too much haste and persistency, considering the state of the President's mind, "since there was reason to believe that the President would be glad of time for information and reflection before being called on to form an opinion on another plan for a bank—a plan somewhat new to the country." Mr. Webster wrote, "I thought his known wishes ought to be complied with. I think so still. I think this is a course just to the President and wise in behalf of the Whig party." But such counsels did not prevail, and there was a decided alienation between the President



JOHN TYLER.

and the Whig party from the time of the resignation of his cabinet. The two principal motives attributed to Mr. Tyler as the cause of his vetoes of the bank bills were, first, his constitutional scruples, with a determination to preserve his character for consistency; and, second, having set his heart upon a second term for the Presidency, he was charged with endeavoring to ingratiate himself with his recent party friends, the Democrats, by his bank vetoes, and thus become the candidate for re-election in 1844. But neither party nominated him, and he accepted that honor from a convention of delegates composed chiefly of office-holders, but perceiving that his election would be impossible, he withdrew in August, and he and his friends gave their influence to the Democratic party.

During that extraordinary session of Congress, other important measures

were adopted. The wants of the treasury were supplied, provision was made for fortifications, the sub-treasury act was repealed, and a bankrupt act, which Mr. Webster spoke of as "a great measure of justice and benevolence," was passed. By the latter act, thousands of honest and industrious men who had been prostrated by the tempest of business disaster which had swept over the land, and were hopelessly in debt, were enabled to stand on their feet again and give their energies to the promotion of the various industries of the country. It bore hard upon the creditor class; and when rogues sought its shelter while cheating honest men, the law was repealed.

The second year of Mr. Tyler's administration (1842) was distinguished by the return of an expedition which the government sent out late in the summer of 1838 under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, to explore the great Southern Ocean. That expedition cruised along what was supposed to be the shores of a Southern continent, seventeen hundred miles in the vicinity of latitude 66°. Much valuable scientific information was obtained, for able scientists and artists accompanied the expedition; but owing to the imperfect methods of the publications of the results, that knowledge has not been properly diffused among the people. At the end of a voyage of about ninety thousand miles, the expedition presented to the nation a large collection of specimens of the natural history and curiosities of the islands of the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. A greater portion of these are preserved in the custody of the National Institute, in the building of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington city. The last-named institution was founded with funds bequeathed to the United States government by James Smithson of England, in trust, to be used for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The sum bequeathed, when received in 1838, was more than half a million dollars in gold, and in 1865, a residuary legacy of over \$26,000 was received. That institution is carrying out the benevolent views of Mr. Smithson in an admirable manner, under the direction of Professor Joseph Henry, who was appointed secretary of the board of managers in 1846.

During President Tyler's administration, a spark of civil war appeared in Rhode Island, which seemed to demand the interference of the national government. The constitution of Rhode Island was the old charter granted by Charles the Second, and under it the people had prospered until 1842, when it was proposed to abandon it and make a new constitution. There was a wide difference of opinion as to the method to be pursued in making the change. A "Suffrage," or Radical party, and a "Law and Order," or Conservative party were formed. Each adopted a constitution and elected a governor and legislature under it; and in May and June, 1843,

both parties were armed in support of their respective claims. The State was on the verge of civil war, when the interference of national troops was invoked. The constitution of the "Law and Order" party was sustained, and no further trouble ensued.

This local agitation was followed by a national one. On the South-western borders of our Republic was a sovereign State called Texas, a part of the domain of ancient Mexico that was conquered by the Spaniards. The Mexicans revolted and set up an independent government, which became a Republic under a constitution similar to that of the United States, and was divided into nineteen States and five Territories; Texas was one of the former. The Mexican government encouraged emigration into that State, and in 1833, full ten thousand Americans were settled there. Santa Anna, a restless, unscrupulous and selfish intriguer and revolutionist, had made himself military dictator of Mexico. The people of Texas, unwilling to submit to his arbitrary rule, revolted, and in 1836 that State was declared to be independent. Santa Anna was then in that country with a heavy military force; but at a battle near the San Jacinto River, late in April, he was defeated by General Houston and made a prisoner. This ended the war for Texan independence, and that independence was acknowledged by the United States in the spring of 1837. But the people of Texas were continually harassed by Mexican marauders; and when in 1843 President Tyler made a proposition to the President of that Republic for its annexation to the United States, it was gladly accepted. A treaty to that effect was negotiated, and it was signed in April, 1844, by the Texan commissioner and John C. Calhoun, who was then Secretary of State; but the Senate rejected it.

The country was soon afterward violently agitated by discussions on the subject of annexation. The chief point of antagonism lay in the slavery question, the friends of that institution being all in favor of the measure, while its opponents were firmly opposed to it, for they regarded it as a plan for strengthening the political power of the slave-labor States; also because it would surely lead to a war with Mexico, for that government had never given up its claim to Texas as one of the States of the Republic. This question entered largely into the canvass for the Presidency in 1844. For that high office James K. Polk of Tennessee, who was warmly in favor of the annexation of Texas, was nominated by the Democrats, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was named for Vice-President. They were elected over the opposing Whig candidates, Henry Clay of Kentucky and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

During the following winter, President Tyler was deprived of the

services of two of his most trusted cabinet officers. Late in February, 1845, he, with all his cabinet, many members of Congress and other distinguished citizens, with several ladies, were on board the United States steamship of war *Princeton*, on a trial trip down the Potomac. When they were opposite Mount Vernon, one of the largest guns of the *Princeton* was fired, when it bursted. Its fragments killed the Secretary of State, Abel P. Upshur, and T. W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy; also David Gardiner of New York, whose daughter the President soon afterward married. John C. Calhoun was appointed to succeed Secretary Upshur, and John Y. Mason was made successor of Secretary Gilmer. Mr. Calhoun urged forward the Texas annexation scheme with great zeal and ability.

The region known as Oregon had been a matter of dispute at an early day between the United States and Great Britain. In the year 1792, Captain Gray of Boston, in the ship *Columbia*, entered the mouth of the great river of that region and gave the name of his vessel to the stream. When a report of this fact was pressed upon the attention of President Jefferson, he sent Captains Lewis and Clark on an overland expedition to the Pacific Coast at the mouth of that river. The exploration was accomplished in 1804-1806; and this transaction, with the discovery by Captain Gray, gave to the United States a title to the region watered by the Columbia River, according to the British interpretation of the law of nations. The region so watered extended to the parallel of  $54^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude. By the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the United States acquired whatever title to that domain France had possessed. But the British government, instigated by the Hudson's Bay Company, claimed Oregon. Finally, by a treaty made in 1818, it was agreed that citizens of both nations should jointly occupy it for ten years. This was renewed for an indefinite period, each party having the right to end the agreement at any time by giving twelve months notice to the other. Such notice was given by the United States in 1839, and preparations were made for the occupation of the territory by American citizens. Great Britain then claimed the whole of Oregon. The United States offered to compromise by drawing the northern line of its possessions there, along the parallel of  $49^{\circ} 40'$ . The British persisted in their claim, and during the political canvass of 1844, "Texas" and "Oregon" became a part of the battle-cry of the Democrats. At their convention in Baltimore they had declared by resolution "that our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas [it had been claimed as a part of Louisiana, purchased of France] at the earliest practicable period, are great



American measures which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union." The former proposition was popular in the North, and the latter was popular in the South and secured the election of Polk and Dallas. The war-cry of "Fifty-four forty, or fight!" was often heard during the canvass. A compromise was finally effected with Great Britain. The northern boundary of our Republic in that region was fixed at the parallel of 49°; and in 1848 the Territory of Oregon was organized. In February, 1859, it was admitted into the Union as a State.

The closing act of Mr. Tyler's administration was an imitation of President Jackson's "pocket veto." A bill making appropriations for certain harbors and rivers had passed both houses at near the close of the session, and was sent to the President for his signature. He retained it until the session had closed; and so, without formally vetoing it, he prevented its becoming a law.

At the close of his administration, on the 4th of March, 1845, Mr. Tyler, the tenth President of the United States, and then fifty-five years of age, retired to private life, where he remained a greatly respected "private citizen" until the civil war broke out, when he took an active part with the enemies of the Republic. He died at Richmond, Virginia, in January, 1862.



## CHAPTER XIX.

PRESIDENT POLK—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—BARGAIN WITH SANTA ANNA AND ITS RESULT—ARMY OF OCCUPATION IN TEXAS—GENERAL TAYLOR AND TROOPS ON THE RIO GRANDE—GENERALS AMPUDIA AND TAYLOR—FORT BROWN CONSTRUCTED—FIRST BLOODSHED—A MEXICAN FORCE IN TEXAS—ATTACK ON FORT BROWN—BATTLES OF PALO ALTO AND RESACA DE LA PALMA—GENERAL TAYLOR ENTERS MEXICO—DECLARATIONS OF WAR BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS—PLAN OF A CAMPAIGN—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF MONTEREY—SANTA ANNA IN MEXICO—GENERAL WOOL IN MEXICO—CONQUESTS BY THE NAVY—GENERAL SCOTT CALLS FOR TAYLOR'S TROOPS—BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA—MOVEMENTS OF GENERAL TAYLOR—EVENTS IN NORTHERN MEXICO—CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA.

**M**R. POLK, the eleventh President of the United States, was a native of North Carolina, but was a citizen of Tennessee from early childhood; and from 1825, when he was thirty years of age, he was almost constantly a representative of that State, in Congress, until he was elected to the Presidency, a period of twenty years. He entered upon the duties of that high office at a critical period in the history of our country, for it was on the verge of a war with the sister republic of Mexico, chiefly on account of the annexation of the revolted province of Texas, the independence of which had been acknowledged by the United States, France and England, and which that State had maintained nine years.

The friendship between the United States and Mexico had been extinguished some years before the annexation of Texas, because of repeated aggressions which had been made by the many succeeding rulers of our unfortunate neighbor, against the property of American citizens on the soil of that country or on vessels on the Gulf of Mexico. Redress had been frequently sought in vain. Our government generously forbore to use its power because Mexico was weak and distracted, and the latter seemed to consider that forbearance as an evidence of cowardice. Our government claimed six million dollars for spoliations of American property; Mexico acknowledged two million as a just claim, but after repeated postponements of the payment of this amount, the government of Mexico virtually refused to settle the claim. This conduct alienated the confidence and respect of our government and people for Mexico; and yet, in all the discussions con-

cerning the annexation of Texas, propositions were made with special reference to the good faith of treaties made with Mexico. That government, conscious of its inability to hold Texas, had offered to acknowledge its independence, provided it would not become annexed to our Union. Such was the situation when the joint resolution providing for the annexation of Texas was adopted by both Houses of Congress on the 28th of February, 1845, and was signed by President Tyler on the first day of March.

Two days after the inauguration of President Polk, General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, asked and received his passports, and diplomatic relations between the governments ceased. The President of Mexico, Herrera, issued a proclamation in June following, declaring that the annexation of Texas in no wise destroyed the rights of Mexico, and that they would be maintained by force of arms. Both governments prepared for war when, on the 4th of July, 1845, Texas became a State of our Union. Satisfied that war was inevitable, President Polk ordered brevet Brigadier-General Zachary Taylor, then in command of national troops in the southwest, to enter Texas and take a position as near the Rio Grande as prudence would allow. His little force of fifteen hundred men were called an "Army of Occupation" for the defence of the newly-acquired State.

At the same time Commodore Conner, of the United States navy, was sent with a strong squadron into the Gulf of Mexico to protect American interests in that region, ashore and afloat.

At that time, Santa Anna was an irritated exile in Cuba, having been banished from Mexico for ten years, and President Polk made a secret bargain with him for the betrayal of his country into the hands of the government of the United States. The plan that was agreed upon was simple. The President was to send a strong force toward the frontier of Mexico. Santa Anna was to go into his own country, where an army



JAMES KNOX POLK.

gathered near that frontier would be sure to "pronounce" for him as their leader, and then the war was to begin. The President was to furnish a force sufficient to give Santa Anna a decent excuse for surrendering his army to it; and so the Americans might easily take possession of Mexico. For this important act Santa Anna was to receive a very large sum of money from the secret service fund in the hands of the President. The Army of Occupation or Observation, as it was alternately called, was sent into Texas, as we have seen, and A. Slidell McKenzie, of the United States navy, was sent to Cuba to perfect the arrangement with Santa Anna, who was living a few miles from Havana. Instead of going secretly to the retreat of the exile, the vain McKenzie, dressed in the full uniform of our naval officers, entered a *volante* in Havana, at noon-day, and in sight of all the people rode out to the dwelling-place of Santa Anna. This fully disconcerted the whole plan. After this public visit from an officer of our navy, the exile could not fulfill his bargain in Mexico, for the act would make his treason palpable.

General Taylor landed with his troops on the Island of St. Joseph, where the flag of the United States was first unfurled in power over the soil of Texas; for from the moment of the act of annexation, our government regarded Texas as part of our domain, and entitled to the full security which our flag could give. From St. Joseph's, General Taylor sailed with his troops to Corpus Christi, a Mexican village on the main, beyond the Neuces and not far from its mouth, and there, in September (1845), he formed a camp and tarried during the autumn and the ensuing winter. At the same time, President Polk inquired of the Mexican government whether it would receive a minister from the United States. President Herrera, who sincerely desired peace, gave an affirmative answer, when his countrymen, who were in favor of war, offended by this act, revolted and elected General Paredes in his place. This revolution was going on when our minister arrived, and Paredes, when elected, refused to receive him.

Soon after Taylor reached Corpus Christi, he was reinforced by seven companies of infantry under Major Brown, and two companies of volunteer artillery under Major Gally. Early in the following year (1846) he was ordered to take a position on the left bank of the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoras, for it was observed that Mexican troops were gathering there with the evident intention of invading Texas. The region on the left bank of the Rio Grandé, fronting the State of Tamaulipas, was disputed territory, the boundary line between that State and Texas not having been defined. Mexico claimed it as a part of Tamaulipas, while the United States claimed it as a part of Texas. General Taylor obeyed his orders and went into that territory, landing at Point Isabel, about twenty-



eight miles from Matamoras, where he formed a camp, despite the warnings of the Mexicans that he was on foreign soil. Leaving his stores and a part of his army there, he proceeded with the remainder of his force to the bank of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras, and there began the construction of a fort large enough to accommodate about two thousand men. It was called Fort Brown in compliment to Major Brown, who was left in command there.

Paredes, the successor of Herrera, immediately sent General Ampudia with a considerable force to drive Taylor beyond the Neuces. On the day after his arrival (April 12, 1846) Ampudia sent a letter to Taylor, demanding the withdrawal of his troops within twenty-four hours, and saying: "If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question." This General Taylor refused to do, as he was upon the soil of the United States. Ampudia hesitated, and twelve days afterward he was succeeded in the chief command there by the more energetic General Arista, chief of the northern division of the army of Mexico. It being reported that Arista had been reinforced, the work on Fort Brown was carried on most vigorously. A week after Ampudia's demand, General Taylor was informed that two vessels laden with supplies for the Mexicans were about to enter the Rio Grande, when he ordered the river to be blockaded by a brig and a revenue cutter. Arista regarded this as an act of war, and prepared to attack Fort Brown. Meanwhile parties of Mexicans had crossed the river and gotten between General Taylor and Point Isabel, cutting off all communication with his stores there. It was known that Arista's army was hourly increasing in strength, and other armed parties of Mexicans were trying to cross the river, above Taylor's encampment. The latter sent a party under Captain Thornton to reconnoitre, and nearly the whole command of that officer were surprised and captured. Thornton escaped only by the extraordinary leap of his horse over a thick hedge, followed by harmless bullets. Lieutenant Mason was killed, and his was the first blood shed in the war with Mexico. That was on the 24th of April, 1846.

General Taylor was satisfied from reports that reached him, that a Mexican force was gathering on the Texas side of the Rio Grande, to attempt a capture of his supplies at Point Isabel; and on the first of May, having nearly finished Fort Brown, he placed a competent garrison in it under Major Brown, and with the remainder of his army made a forced march in the direction of his stores. He arrived at Point Isabel the same day, without molestation. Supposing this movement to be a retreat, Arista ordered troops to cross the river and gain the rear of Fort Brown. This

was done, and on the night of the 4th of May, the Mexicans erected a battery behind the fort; and early the next morning they opened a tremendous fire from it upon the fortification. At the same time batteries at Matamoras, which had fired upon the fort on the 3d, hurled shot and shell with very little effect, for Major Brown had erected strong bomb-proof shelters yet almost at the beginning, that gallant officer was killed. The bombardment continued about thirty-six hours, when Arista sent a summons for a surrender. This was refused, and toward the evening of the 6th, another storm of shot and shell was poured upon the fort.

General Taylor ordered Major Brown to fire heavy signal guns if the fort seemed to be in peril. These were fired on the evening of the 6th of May, and on the following evening, Taylor, with more than two thousand men, marched from Point Isabel to relieve Fort Brown. He had been reinforced by Texan volunteers and marines from the fleet. At noon on the 8th they encountered a Mexican army six thousand strong, led by General Arista, upon a portion of a prairie flanked by ponds of water and beautified by tall trees, which gave it the name of "Palo Alto." Nothing daunted, Taylor and his men attacked this superior force, and fought them so desperately for five hours, that at twilight the Mexicans gave way and fled in great disorder. The victory for Taylor was thorough and complete; and when the battle was ended, the victors sank, exhausted, upon the ground. They had lost in killed and wounded, fifty-three men; the Mexicans had lost about six hundred. During the engagement, Major Ringgold, commander of the American flying artillery which did terrible work in the Mexican ranks, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball that passed through one thigh, the body of his horse, and the other thigh. Rider and steed fell to the ground. The latter was dead; the Major died at Point Isabel four days afterward. Meanwhile Fort Brown had defied the shot and shell from the Mexican batteries; and when, on the 8th, the thunder of cannon at Palo Alto announced Taylor's approach, the garrison took fresh courage and held out. Their works had endured a cannonade and bombardment for about one hundred and sixty hours without receiving much hurt.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 9th of May, Taylor's army were awakened from their slumbers on the battle-field to resume their march for Fort Brown. Their leader prepared for an attack on the way, for the broken forces of the enemy had been rallied; but he saw no traces of the enemy until toward evening, when, as the Americans emerged from a dense thicket, the Mexicans were discovered strongly posted in battle order in a broad ravine that indented a prairie, called *Resaca de la Palma* or "Dry River of Palms." The ravine was about four feet deep and two hundred feet wide,

and was fringed with palmetto trees. It was the bed of continuous pools of water in the rainy season, but was dusty in the dry season. Within that trench the Mexicans had planted a battery that swept the road over which the Americans were marching. Taylor pressed forward, and after some severe skirmishing, in which a part of his army was engaged, he ordered Captain May, leader of dragoons, to charge upon the battery. That gallant officer instantly obeyed. Rising in his stirrups, he called out to his troops: "Remember your regiment! Men, follow!" and dashing forward in the



THE CHARGE OF CAPTAIN MAY.

face of a shower of balls from the battery, he made his powerful black horse leap the parapet. He was followed by a few of his men, whose steeds made the fearful leap. The gunners were killed, and General La Vega (who was about to apply a match to one of the pieces) and a hundred men were seized by the troopers, made prisoners, and were borne away in triumph within the American lines. The battle went on, growing hotter every moment. The almost impenetrable thicket was alive with Mexicans, and blazed with the fire of their muskets. The strife was terrible for some time; but at length the camp and headquarters of General Arista, the commander-in-chief, were captured, and the enemy were completely routed. Arista saved himself by flight, and, unattended, he made his way across the Rio Grande. So sudden

was his discomfiture and departure that the plate and other private property of Arista, with correspondence, arms, ammunition and equipments for several thousand men, and two thousand horses, fell into the hands of the victors. La Vega and a few other captive officers were sent on parole to New Orleans. It was estimated that the Mexicans had over seven thousand men on that battle-field: the Americans had less than two thousand. The former lost about a thousand men: the latter one hundred and ten. The Mexican army was completely broken up.

Leaving the battle-field of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor returned to Point Isabel to make arrangements with Commodore Connor for future work, and then proceeded to Fort Brown to commence offensive operations there. The terrified Mexicans trembled for the safety of Matamoras, when Arista sent a deputation to Taylor to ask for an armistice until the two governments should arrange the dispute. The latter would not trust the treacherous Mexican, and refused the boon. It was afterward ascertained that during the conference Arista had removed a large quantity of ammunition and stores, and during the succeeding night (May 17, 1846) retreated with his troops which he had rallied, to the open country toward Monterey. Hearing of this, Taylor crossed the river (May 18) with his army, and, for the first time, unfurled the American flag over undisputed Mexican soil.

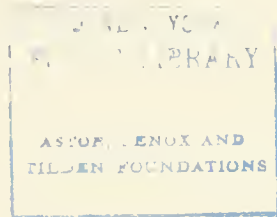
When news of the attack on Captain Thornton and his party on Texas soil, on the 24th of April, and a knowledge of the critical situation of the Army of Occupation, spread over the country, the people were aroused; and before the two brilliant victories of Taylor were known at Washington, Congress (then in session) had declared that "by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States." They authorized the President to accept fifty thousand volunteers, and appropriated ten million dollars for carrying on the contest. This declaration of war was made on the 13th of May, and on the 23d of the same month, the government of Mexico made a formal declaration of war against the United States. The American Secretary of War (Wm. L. Marcy) and General Winfield Scott, then general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, immediately made a magnificent plan for prosecuting the war. A fleet was to sweep around Cape Horn and attack the Pacific coast of Mexico; an "Army of the West" was to gather at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River, to invade New Mexico and co-operate with the Pacific fleet, and an "Army of the Centre" was to rendezvous at San Antonio de Bexar, in the heart of Texas, to invade old Mexico from the north.

The news of Taylor's victories produced great joy in the United States. Illuminations, bonfires and cannon-peals in all the chief cities, were the out-





THE TAKING OF MONTEREY.



ward demonstrations of delight, and, for the moment, the war was generally popular. Meanwhile General Taylor, who was called "Rough and Ready" by his soldiers, was preparing for the achievement of other victories in the land he had invaded. He remained at Matamoras until the beginning of September waiting for instructions from his government, and reinforcements for his army. Then the first division of his troops under General W. J. Worth moved toward Monterey, the strongly fortified capital of New Leon, which was then defended by about nine thousand troops commanded by General Ampudia. Taylor joined Worth, and, on the 19th of September, they encamped within three miles of that city with almost seven thousand men. On the night of the 20th, Worth moved nearer the town, and on the following day he attacked it. Joined by other divisions of the army, the assault became general on the 23d, and a conflict in the streets was dreadful. From the strong stone houses, the Mexicans poured volleys of musketry upon the invaders, and the carnage was severe. Finally, on the 4th day of the siege, Ampudia asked for a truce. It was granted, and he proposed to evacuate the city. Taylor would grant no other terms than absolute *surrender*, which was done on the 24th of September. Leaving General Worth in command at Monterey, Taylor encamped at Walnut Springs, a few miles from that city, and there awaited further orders from his government. Santa Anna had gone into Mexico, and was now at the head of its army; and having given assurances that he desired peace, Taylor agreed to a cessation of hostilities for eight weeks, if permitted by his government. In the siege of Monterey, the Americans lost over five hundred men, and the Mexicans about double that number.

Congress had directed General John E. Wool to muster and prepare for service the rapidly gathering volunteers authorized by that body, at San Antonio. So promptly did he perform that duty, that by the middle of July twelve thousand of them had been inspected and mustered into the service. Of these, nine thousand were sent to the Rio Grande to reinforce General Taylor's army, and the remainder were disciplined by Wool preparatory to an invasion of Chihuahua, one of the richest provinces of Mexico. With them, three thousand in number, Wool went up the Rio Grande, and on the last day of October (1846) he was at Monclova, seventy miles northwest from Monterey, where his kind treatment of the inhabitants won their confidence and esteem, and they regarded him as a friend instead of an enemy. There Wool heard of the capture of Monterey, and acting upon the advice of General Taylor, he abandoned the project of penetrating Chihuahua and marched to the fertile district of Parras in Coahuila, where he obtained an abundance of supplies for the two armies.

When General Taylor informed his government of the capture of Monterey, he called for reinforcements for his own army, and recommended the landing of twenty-five thousand troops at Vera Cruz. He received such instructions from the Secretary of War, that he gave notice that the armistice at Monterey would cease on the 13th of November. General Worth marched on the 12th with nine hundred men for Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, and was followed the next day by General Taylor, who left General Butler in command at the conquered city. Saltillo was taken possession of on the 15th of November, and just a month afterward Taylor set out for Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, with a considerable force, intending to march upon and attack Tampico, on the coast. Commodore Conner had already captured that place (November 14), and Commodore Perry had also taken possession of Tobasco and Tusan. Being informed of a rumor that Santa Anna, who had entered Mexico, was collecting a large force at San Luis Potosi to attack Worth at Saltillo, Taylor marched to Monterey to reinforce that officer, if necessary. There he received word that General Wool had reached Saltillo with his division, when Taylor again marched for Victoria, which place he occupied on the 29th of December.

Just as General Taylor was preparing to enter upon a vigorous winter campaign, he was compelled to endure a severe trial of his patience, temper, and patriotism. In accordance with his recommendation, his government had sent General Scott, with a considerable force, to attempt the capture of Vera Cruz, and from that point to penetrate to the Mexican capital. Scott arrived off Vera Cruz in January, 1847, and being the senior officer of the army, he assumed the chief command of the American armies in Mexico. To effect the work which his government had ordered him to do, he felt compelled to draw from General Taylor's army a large number of his best officers, and a greater portion of his regular troops, leaving him with only about five thousand effective men, including the division of General Wool; and of them only five hundred were regulars. Like a true soldier, Taylor, though greatly mortified, instantly obeyed the chief's order to that effect. At that time Santa Anna had gathered an army of twenty thousand men at San Luis Potosi. He had also been elected Provisional President of Mexico in December, and his followers were full of enthusiasm when, on the first of February, he began a march toward Saltillo, with the avowed intention of drawing the Americans beyond the Rio Grande. General Wool, at Saltillo, had kept his commander advised of the movements of Santa Anna; and when Taylor was assured that the Mexicans were really moving against him, he resolved, weak as he was in numbers, to fight them. On the 31st



of January he left Monterey with all his troops, and reached Saltillo on the 2d of February. He pushed on to Aqua Nueva, twenty miles south of Saltillo, on the San Luis road, and encamped until the 21st, when he fell back to Augustina, a narrow defile in the mountains facing the estate of Buena Vista, and there encamped in battle order to await the approach of Santa Anna. His position was well chosen. It was near a narrow gorge in the mountains, through which the approaching Mexican army must pass—a sort of Thermopylæ.

On the morning of the 22d of February (1847), Santa Anna and his army were within two miles of Taylor's line of battle, when the Mexican chief sent the following note to the American leader:

"You are surrounded by 20,000 men, and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout, and being cut to pieces, with your troops; but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from such a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character; to which end you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment that my flag of truce arrives at your camp. With this view, I assure you of my particular consideration. God and Liberty!

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA."

General Taylor, who was always "ready," did not take an hour to consider the matter, but immediately replied:

"SIR—In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request. With high respect, I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR."

Both armies now prepared to fight. The Americans waited for the Mexicans to take the initiative. It was deferred until evening excepting some skirmishing that afternoon and all that night. While the American troops were bivouacked without fire and slept on their arms, the Mexicans were in detachments in the mountains above them, trying to form a cordon of soldiers around the little army of Taylor and Wool, then less than five thousand in number. Early in the morning of the 23d the battle began and continued all day. The struggle was terribly severe, and the slaughter was fearful. Until almost sunset it was doubtful who would triumph. Then the

Mexican leader, after performing the pitiful trick of displaying a flag in token of surrender, to throw Taylor off his guard, made a desperate assault on the American centre, where that officer was in command in person. That centre stood like a rock against the billow. The batteries of Bragg, Washington and Sherman, rolled back the martial wave, and it was not long before the Mexican lines began to waver. General Taylor, standing near the battery of Captain Bragg, saw the signs of weakness and coolly said: "Give them a



"GIVE THEM A LITTLE MORE GRAPE."

little more grape!" Bragg did so, when, just at twilight, the Mexicans gave way and fled in considerable confusion. Night closed the battle; but expecting it to be resumed in the morning, the Americans again slept on their arms; but when the day dawned, no enemy was to be seen. Santa Anna had fallen back to Aqua Nueva, and, in the course of a few days, his large but utterly amazed and dispirited army was almost dissolved. In the flight they had left five hundred of their comrades dead or dying on the field. They had lost in the battle almost two thousand men; the loss of the

Americans in killed, wounded and missing, was seven hundred and forty-six. A son of Henry Clay was among the slain.

On the day of the battle of Buena Vista, Captain Webster, and a small party of Americans, drove General Minon and eight hundred Mexicans from Saltillo. Three days afterward, Colonels Morgan and Irvin defeated some of the enemy in a skirmish at Aqua Frio, and on the 7th of March Major Giddings was victorious in a conflict at Cerralvo. Meanwhile General Taylor had marched for Walnut Springs, near Monterey, where he remained almost inactive, several months, and in September (1847) he returned home, where he was received with the liveliest demonstrations of respect and honor because of his achievements. Three years afterward he was elected President of the United States by the votes of the Whig party.

While these operations were in progress near the Gulf, other events of importance were occurring in the northern part of Mexico. Stephen W. Kearney, of New Jersey, who had been brevetted major-general late in 1846, was placed in command of the "Army of the West" at Fort Leavenworth, in the spring of 1847, with instructions to conquer New Mexico and California. Before this time, Captain John C. Fremont, who had been sent by our government, with about sixty men, to explore portions of New Mexico and California, had become involved in hostilities with the Mexicans on the Pacific coast. When he approached Monterey, on that coast, he was opposed by General Castro and a strong party of Mexicans. Fremont retired to a mountain position, where he called around him the American settlers in that region, and captured a Mexican post at Sonoma Pass (June 15, 1846), with nine cannons and two hundred and fifty muskets. After some more skirmishing, Castro was routed, the Mexicans were driven from that region, and on the 5th of July the Americans there declared themselves independent, and placed Fremont at the head of public affairs. Two days afterward, Commodore Sloat, who was in command of an American squadron on the Pacific coast, bombarded and captured Monterey; and on the 9th, Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Almost a week later, Commodore Stockton arrived on that station and succeeded Sloat in command; and on the 17th of August he and Fremont took possession of the city of Los Angeles (city of the angels), near the Pacific coast, now the capital of Los Angeles county, California.

General Kearney left Fort Leavenworth with sixteen hundred men, in June, and on the 18th of August, after a march of almost nine hundred miles, he arrived at Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico. He had traversed great plains and rugged mountain passes, without opposition; and as he approached Santa Fé, the governor and four thousand Mexican troops fled, leaving

the six thousand inhabitants of the city to quietly surrender it. Kearney took formal possession of the State, appointed Charles Bent governor, and then pushed on toward California. He soon met a messenger from Stockton and Fremont, informing him that the conquest of California was already achieved, when Kearney sent the main body of his troops back to Santa Fé, and with one hundred men he pushed on toward Los Angeles. There, on the 27th of December (1846), Kearney met Stockton and Fremont, and these three officers shared in the honors of events which, soon afterward, accomplished the complete conquest and pacification of California. Fremont, the real liberator of California from the Mexican yoke, claimed the right to be governor of the territory, and was supported by Stockton and the people; but General Kearney, his superior officer, would not acquiesce in the arrangement. At Monterey, Kearney, assuming the office of governor, proclaimed (February 8, 1847) the annexation of California to the United States. Fremont refused to obey him, and was ordered home to be tried on a charge of disobedience. His commission of lieutenant-colonel, which he had received, was taken from him, but the President offered to restore it. Fremont refused it, and went again to the wilderness to engage in explorations. Kearney remained in command on the Pacific coast until May (1847), when he returned home, leaving Colonel Mason as military governor of California.

While Kearney was on his march for the Pacific coast, Colonel Doniphan, of his command, at the head of a thousand Missourians, was performing signal services. He compelled the Navajo Indians to make a treaty of peace, late in November (1846), and then he marched toward Chihuahua to join General Wool. At Braceti, in the valley of the Rio del Norte, he encountered a Mexican force under General Ponce de Leon, who sent a black flag to Doniphan and a message, saying:—"We will neither ask nor give quarter." This was immediately followed by the advance of the Mexicans, who fired three volleys. The Americans had all fallen on their faces. Supposing them to be dead, the Mexicans rushed forward to plunder them, when the Americans sprang to their feet, and poured such a deadly fire upon their assailants that two hundred Mexicans were killed. The remainder, astonished, fled in great disorder. Doniphan pressed on, and when within eighteen miles of the capital of Chihuahua, he was confronted by about four thousand Mexicans (February 28, 1847), whom he attacked and dispersed, and then entered the city in triumph. There, in the midst of a population of forty thousand souls, he unfurled the American flag over the citadel. He lost eighteen men in the engagement; and the Mexicans lost about six hundred.



Doniphan rested six weeks in Chihuahua, when he joined Wool at Saltillo late in May. Then he proceeded to New Orleans, having made a march from the Mississippi and back of about five thousand miles. The conquest of all Northern Mexico and California was now complete. Some conspiracies against the new government in New Mexico ripened into revolt in January, 1847, when Governor Bent and others were murdered. Massacres occurred at various places. The insurgents were defeated at Canada, by troops under Colonel Price, and were scattered at the Pass of Embudo. Permanent peace was then secured.

By these conquests New Mexico, one of the places in the interior of the North American continent earliest visited by the Spaniards, became a permanent portion of the domain of our country. It was first traversed by the white race in the persons of Cabeça de Vaca and the remnant of those who followed Narvaez to Florida. They reached New Mexico some time in 1536, when de Vaca sent a report of what he saw to the viceroy of Mexico. Expeditions were sent into that region from Mexico, and one of them penetrated to the Rio Grande. That company were the first Europeans who saw the bison, or buffalo, on our continent. Castaneda, the historian of the expedition, calls the animal "a new kind of ox, wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourscore, which sufficed the army with flesh."



## CHAPTER XX.

CAPTURE OF VERA CRUZ—MARCH TOWARD THE CAPITAL OF MEXICO—BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO—FLIGHT OF SANTA ANNA—CAPTURE OF JALAPA, PEROTE, AND PUEBLO—A WONDERFUL CAMPAIGN—PEACE PROPOSITIONS REJECTED—MARCH OVER THE CORDILLERAS—DEFENCES OF THE MEXICAN CAPITAL—BATTLES NEAR THAT CITY—FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—CONQUEST OF THE EMPIRE—TREATY OF PEACE—GOLD FOUND IN CALIFORNIA—RESULTS OF THE WAR WITH MEXICO—ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF GENERAL TAYLOR AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC—CALIFORNIA SEEKS ADMISSION INTO THE UNION—VIOLENT DEBATES ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY—ITS TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT BY A COMPROMISE—DEATH OF PRESIDENT TAYLOR—ACCESSION OF PRESIDENT FILLMORE—COMPROMISE BILLS PASSED—INVASION OF CUBA.

IN the month of February, 1847, powerful land and naval forces were concentrated in the Gulf of Mexico. The military were under the command of Major-General Winfield Scott, and the vessels were in charge of Commodore Connor, who was afterward succeeded by Commodore M. C. Perry. The troops were gathered at Lobos Island, about one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Vera Cruz; and on the 9th of March about thirteen thousand of them, designed for the conquest of Mexico, were landed near that city, which was considered the key of the country. Upon an island opposite was a very strong fortress, called the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, which the Mexicans regarded as impregnable. This fortress and the city were completely invested four days after the debarkation, and on the 22d, Scott and Connor were ready to begin the siege. On that day Scott summoned the city and fortress to surrender; and when the demand was refused, shells from seven mortars on land (soon increased to nine) were hurled upon the city. The engineering work for the siege had been skillfully prepared by the late General Totten.

For about four days a furious cannonade and bombardment were kept up on land and water. The Mexicans in the city suffered dreadfully, and on the morning of the 26th the commander made overtures for a surrender. That event occurred on the 29th, when five thousand Mexicans marched out to a plain about a mile from Vera Cruz, and then laid down their arms, gave up their flags, and returned to the interior on parole. The city and fortress, with five hundred pieces of artillery and a large amount of muni-

tions of war, passed into the possession of the Americans. During the siege the victors had lost about eighty men in killed and wounded; the loss of the Mexicans was fearful. About a thousand were killed, and many were wounded. Scott had tried to induce the governor of Vera Cruz to send the women and children and foreign residents out of the city before the bombardment began, but he refused, and many of them perished.

General Scott now made preparations to march for the Mexican capital by way of the Great National Road from Vera Cruz. Leaving General Worth as temporary governor at Vera Cruz, and a sufficient garrison for the castle, he moved forward on the 8th of April with about eight thousand men toward Jalapa, General Twiggs leading his division in advance. Meanwhile General Santa Anna, by extraordinary efforts after the defeat and dispersion of his army at Buena Vista, had gathered a force of about twelve thousand men from among the Sierras of Orizaba, and concentrated them upon the Heights of Cerro Gordo—a difficult mountain-pass at the foot of the eastern slope of the Cordilleras. There he was strongly fortified and was in Scott's path when, on the 13th of April, Twiggs came in sight. Scott arrived the next morning, reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and made preparations to attack him. On the 17th he issued a most remarkable general order to the army, in which he directed movements in the coming battle which, followed, led to victory, making that order appear almost prophetic in its details. The battle occurred on the 18th, and before sunset the Americans were victorious. It was fought at a wild place in the mountains. On one side was a deep dark river, on the other was a frowning declivity of rocks a thousand feet in height, bristling with batteries, while above all arose the strong fortress of Cerro Gordo. The place had to be taken by storm; and the party to do the work was composed of the regulars of Twiggs, led by the gallant Colonel Harney. Victory followed skill and bravery, and Cerro Gordo fell. Velasquez, the commander of the fortress, was killed, and the Mexican standard was hauled down by Sergeant Henry. Santa Anna, with Almonte and other generals, and eight thousand troops, escaped; the remainder were made prisoners. Santa Anna attempted to fly with his carriage, which contained a large amount of specie, but it was overturned, when, mounting a mule taken from his carriage, he escaped to the mountains, leaving behind him his wooden leg. In the vehicle was found his papers, clothing, and a pair of lady's satin slippers. The victory for the Americans was complete and decisive. The trophies were three thousand prisoners, who were paroled, forty-three bronze pieces of artillery cast in Seville, five thousand stand of arms (which were destroyed), and a large amount of munitions of war. The fugitives were pursued with vigor

toward Jalapa. In that battle the Americans lost four hundred and thirty-one men.

General Worth was now with the army, and with his division led the onward march. On the 19th they entered Jalapa; and a few days afterward (April 22d, 1847) Worth unfurled the American flag over the strong castle of Perote, on the summit of the Cordilleras, fifty miles beyond Jalapa. This



ESCAPE OF SANTA ANNA AT CERRO GORDO.

fortress was regarded as the strongest in Mexico after San Juan d'Ulloa. These places had been captured without resistance, for the Mexicans were appalled by the suddenness of the invasion and the swiftness of the conquests of the invaders. At Perote, the spoils were fifty-four pieces of artillery and an immense amount of munitions of war.

Onward the victors swept along the Great National Road over the Cordilleras, and on the 15th of May they halted at the fine "City of the Angels"—Pueblo de los Angeles—where they remained until August. In a campaign of two months, General Scott had made ten thousand Mexican prisoners of war, and captured seven hundred splendid pieces of artillery, ten



thousand muskets, and twenty thousand shots and shells; and yet, when he reached Pueblo, his whole effective marching force for the conquest of the capital did not exceed four thousand five hundred men. The demands for garrison duty and severe sickness had reduced his army about one half.

While Scott was resting at Pueblo, an opportunity was given to the Mexicans to treat for peace. At Jalapa, the commander-in-chief issued a proclamation to the Mexican people, very conciliatory in character, but closing with this significant paragraph: "I am marching on Pueblo and Mexico; and from those capitals I shall again address you." The government also sent Nicholas P. Trist as a diplomatic agent, with letters to certain persons in Mexico, and clothed with power to treat for peace. He reached the army just as Scott left Jalapa, and went forward with it when it resumed its march. He had made overtures to the Mexican government, which were treated with disdain. The Mexicans foolishly boasted of their patriotism, valor and strength, while losing post after post in rapid succession.

At Pueblo, Scott was reinforced by fresh troops, which had been sent by way of Vera Cruz. There his principal officers were Generals Worth, Quitman, Pillow, Twiggs, Shields, Smith, and Cadwallader; and on the 7th of August, he resumed his march toward the capital, with about eleven thousand men. The road lay nearly along the line of the march of Cortez, more than three hundred years before, over the Anahuac range of mountains, and up the slopes of the great Cordilleras. It was a most beautiful and picturesque region, well watered, clothed with rich verdure, and bathed in the most salubrious air. From the lofty summits of these mountains and almost upon the spot where Cortez stood, Scott and his army beheld, as the Spanish conquerors had there beheld, the great valley of Mexico, with its *intervalles* and lakes, cities and villages, and the waters of Tezcuco embracing the Mexican capital—the ancient metropolis of the Aztec empire—now presenting lofty steeples and spacious domes. Down into that valley the invaders cautiously pressed, for resistance was expected at the mountain-passes. General Twiggs, with his division, led, and on the 11th of August he was encamped at St. Augustine, with the strong fortress of San Antonio before him. Close upon his right were the heights of Churubusco, crowned with embattled walls covered with cannon, and to be reached in front only by a causeway exposed at every point to a raking fire from the batteries. Not far off was the strongly fortified camp of Contreras, containing about six thousand Mexicans under General Valencia; and between it and the capital was Santa Anna with twelve thou

sand men, who were held in reserve. The whole of the invading army were concentrated in the valley by the 15th, with headquarters on the Acapulco road.

Such was the general disposition of the belligerent forces when General Scott arrived at headquarters on the morning of the 18th, and after surveying the whole scene, made arrangements for attacking the enemy and fighting his way to the gates of the city. That was a difficult task, for the capital was strongly defended at points nearer than those already mentioned, and approaches to it could only be made over narrow causeways through oozy ground, as in the time of Montezuma. Near the city was the hill of Chepultepec, which was strongly fortified and covered by a Military Institute, and at the foot of it, at the King's Mill (Molino del Rey), was a fortified stone wall and a citadel capable of great resistance. Every avenue to the city was guarded, and no point had been neglected. Chepultepec would have to be carried by storm, and so would the position at Molino del Rey and the strongholds of Contreras. San Antonio and Churubusco would have to be carried before these could be reached. To carry these, and capture Chepultepec and Molino del Rey, was now the important business to which Scott addressed himself.

Confronted by the victorious Americans, the Mexicans prepared for a desperate struggle. They strengthened their fortifications and increased their garrisons. The Americans were equally active, and prepared for the attack with great skill under the immediate direction of General Scott, ably assisted by Captain Robert E. Lee (general-in-chief of the Confederate forces in the late Civil War), the chief engineer of the army, whose services at Cerro Gordo and before Mexico won for him the commissions of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, in rapid succession.

On the evening of the 19th (August, 1847) everything was in readiness on the part of the Americans. The day had been spent in indecisive skirmishing. The night was very dark, rainy, and cold. The American troops stood, drenched, waiting for daylight, and when it appeared, they were led forward to storm the camp. The grand struggle began at sunrise. It was brief, but sharp and sanguinary. The Americans, under cover of darkness, had gained a position close upon the Mexicans, in rear and flank, before they were discovered. Springing up suddenly from behind the crest of a hill, they delivered volleys in quick succession; dashed pell-mell into the intrenchments; captured the batteries; drove out the army of Valencia, and pursued its flying remnants on the road toward Mexico. The conflict lasted only seventeen minutes. Eighty officers and three thousand privates of the Mexicans were made prisoners, and among the trophies were thirty-three



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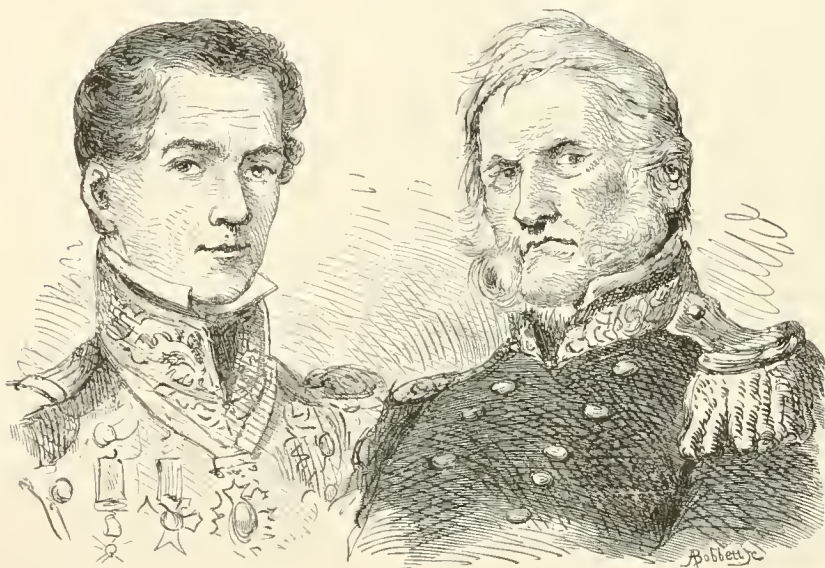


pieces of artillery. Meanwhile Generals Shields and Pierce (the latter afterward President of the United States) had kept Santa Anna's powerful reserve at bay. A similar movement was now made against San Antonio and Churubusco. Santa Anna advanced with his numerous followers, to defend them, and very soon the whole region became a battle-field. The entire American and Mexican armies were engaged. The invaders dealt heavy and successful blows. San Antonio yielded, Churubusco was taken, and the forces of Santa Anna were sent flying toward the capital like chaff before a gale. Prisoners and spoils glutted the hands of the Americans. It was a memorable day in the annals of our military career. In the course of a single day, a Mexican army full thirty thousand strong, had been broken up by another less than one-third its strength in number; full four thousand Mexicans had been killed or wounded; three thousand were made prisoners, and thirty-seven pieces of fine artillery had been captured, with a vast amount of munitions of war. The Americans lost in killed and wounded, on that memorable day, almost eleven hundred men. They might easily have pressed on while the Mexicans were panic-stricken, and taken possession of their capital, but Scott preferred to try negotiations for peace again. He advanced to Tacubaya, on the 21st, within three miles of the capital, and there, and on the way, he was met by a proposition from Santa Anna for an armistice preparatory to negotiations for peace. It was acceded to, and Mr. Trist went into the capital on the 24th for the purpose. At the palace of the Archbishop at Tacubaya, which Scott made his headquarters, the General waited impatiently for the return of Mr. Trist. He came on the 5th of September with the information that his propositions for peace had not only been rejected with scorn, but that Santa Anna had violated the armistice by strengthening the defences of the city. General Scott, disgusted with the treachery of the Mexican chief, declared the armistice at an end on the 7th of September, and prepared to storm the capital.

The castle at Chapultepec, the walls and stone citadel at Molino del Rey, and the fortified gates of Mexico manned by thousands of Mexicans, yet stood between Scott and possession of the capital, and to the capture of these he proceeded on the 8th. The Americans were on one of the main causeways, in full view of the city. General Worth was sent, with between three and four thousand troops, to attack Molino del Rey, and they were repulsed, at first, with great slaughter. Gallantly returning to the assault and fighting desperately for an hour, they drove the enemy before them. Nearly one thousand Mexicans were dead on the field. The loss of the Americans was about eight hundred. Attention was now turned to Chapultepec, the site of the "Halls of the Montezumas," and then the only defence

of the city left, outside of its suburbs. On the night of the 11th of September, Scott erected four heavy batteries, the guns of which might be brought to bear upon the hill. These were opened on the morning of the 12th, and on the following morning the Americans made such a furious charge upon the works, that their occupants were routed with great slaughter and fled to the city along an aqueduct, pursued by General Quitman to the very gates. The pursuers were continually engaged in sharp encounters, at various places.

Santa Anna, thoroughly alarmed and his army hopelessly shattered, fled from the city with the remnant of his troops, and the officers of the civil



ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

government, before daylight on the morning of the 14th; and at dawn a deputation came out from the municipal authorities and begged General Scott to spare the town and propose terms of capitulation. He would make no terms, but ordered Generals Quitman and Worth to move forward and unfurl the American flag over the National Palace. At ten o'clock General Scott, escorted by dragoons, rode into the city in full uniform, on his powerful white charger, and made his way to the Grand Plaza. There he dismounted, took off his hat, and drawing his sword and raising it high above his head, he proclaimed in a loud voice the conquest of Mexico, and took formal possession of the empire.

Quiet soon reigned in the Mexican capital. Santa Anna afterward made feeble and unsuccessful efforts to regain his lost power. After some defeats in skirmishes with American detachments, his troops deserted him, and before the close of October he was a fugitive, flying for personal safety to the shores of the Gulf. The President of the Mexican Congress assumed provisional authority; and on the 2d of February, 1848, that body concluded a



GENERAL SCOTT ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO.

treaty of peace with commissioners of the United States, at Guadalupe Hidalgo. It was ratified by both governments, and President Polk proclaimed it on the 4th of July following. That treaty stipulated the evacuation of Mexico by the American army within three months, the payment of three million dollars in hand, and twelve million in four annual installments by the United States to Mexico, for the territory acquired by conquest; and, in addition, to assume debts due certain citizens of our republic

to the amount of three million five hundred thousand dollars. Boundary and other disputes were settled, and New Mexico and California became acknowledged territories of the United States. It was in the very month when the treaty was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, that gold was found at Captain Sutter's Mill on the American fork of the Sacramento River in California; and the official statement of the fact that gold was abundant in that territory, made in the President's message in December following, caused an emigration to the Pacific coast, not only from our States, but from other countries. Since then the yield of the precious metal there has been enormous; and in some of the other Territories in the western portion of our republic, immense quantities of silver, as well as gold, have been discovered.

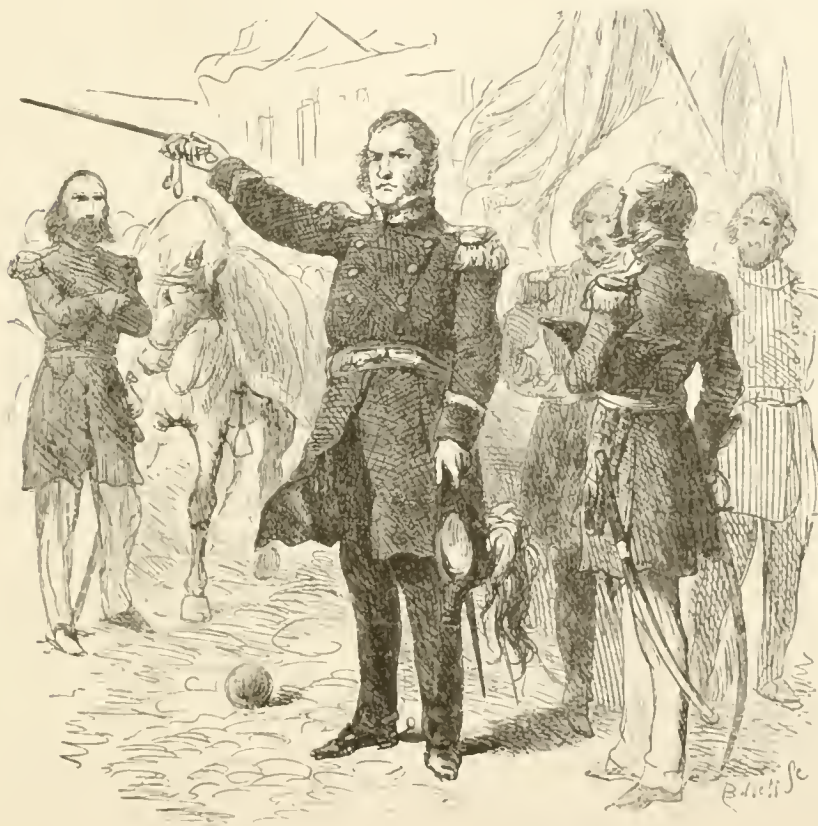
Mr. Polk's administration, which closed in the spring of 1849, was chiefly distinguished by the events and results of the war with Mexico, and the settlement of the Oregon boundary question, already noticed. The war was very unpopular, at first, with a large proportion of our citizens; but the unparalleled achievements of our little army there first excited the pride of the Americans, and then aroused their enthusiasm, and the war very soon became popular. It was carried through in a manner highly honorable to our country, and its acquisition of territory not only enriched the republic but greatly extended its domain. In May, 1848, Wisconsin was admitted into the Union as a State, making the whole number of States thirty.

The exploits of General Zachary Taylor at an early period of the war with Mexico, made him exceedingly popular throughout the Union, and the Whig National Convention that assembled at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, 1848, nominated him for the Presidency of the republic, with Millard Fillmore for the Vice-Presidency. Both were elected in November following, and on the 5th of March, 1849 (the 4th fell on Sunday), he was inaugurated the twelfth President of the United States, Chief-Justice Taney administering the oath of office. General Taylor was eminently a "plain, blunt man," with no pretensions to polished manners, but with every characteristic of a true gentleman. He chose for his constitutional advisers John M. Clayton for Secretary of State; William M. Meredith, Secretary of the Treasury; George N. Crawford, Secretary of War; William B. Preston, Secretary of the Navy; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, a department which had just been created; Jacob Collamer, Postmaster-General, and Reverdy Johnson, Attorney-General.

President Taylor's administration was marked by events which led to very important results. In August, 1849, General Riley, then military governor of California, summoned a convention of delegates to meet at Monterey, on the Pacific coast, to form a State constitution. California had



not yet been organized as a Territory; but it was so rapidly filling up with the elements of a new and powerful State, that its speedy admission into the Union as such seemed probable. These elements were then principally gold-seekers, who were mostly enterprising young men. The convention met, and on the first of September (1849) they adopted a State constitution, an article of which excluded slavery from that Territory forever. This action—



GENERAL SCOTT PROCLAIMING THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

the actual formation of a State by the voice of the people—was accomplished twenty months after gold was first found at Sutter's Mill. It produced warm debates in and out of Congress, and excited a violent controversy throughout the republic on the subject of slavery, which ended only when that institution was utterly destroyed.

Under their State constitution, the Californians elected Edward Gilbert

and G. H. Wright, delegates to the National House of Representatives ; and the State Legislature, at its first session, appointed John Charles Fremont and William M. Gwinn, United States Senators. The latter carried the State constitution with them to Washington city, and in February they presented a petition to Congress, praying for the admission of California into the Union of States. It was perceived that a compromise on the subject of slavery must be effected to avoid serious difficulty, for the supporters of the system of slave-labor boldly declared their intention to dismember the republic, if California should be admitted into the Union with its constitution forbidding the existence of slavery in that domain. A joint resolution was offered for the appointment of a committee of thirteen to consider the subject of territorial governments for California, New Mexico and Deseret (the latter settled chiefly by a Mormon community), with instructions to report a plan of compromise embracing all the questions then arising out of the institution of slavery. The resolution was adopted in April, and Mr. Clay was made chairman of the committee. He had already submitted a plan of compromise to the Senate, and spoke eloquently in favor of it ; and on the 8th of May he, in behalf of the committee of thirteen, reported a bill intended as a pacificator. It provided for the admission of California as a State ; for a territorial government for New Mexico and Deseret or Utah ; for a law which would compel the return, to their masters, of all fugitive slaves ; for the suppression of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and for a settlement of the boundary of Texas. This bill, containing such a variety of important propositions, was called the "Omnibus Bill," but as a whole it was known as the Compromise Act. It was not satisfactory to the slaveholders, notwithstanding its large concessions to their interests ; and in June they held a convention at Nashville, in Tennessee, and by resolutions presented to the country alternatives for the settlement of the controversy, namely, the security, by an enactment of Congress, of protection to their property in slaves, for those who should choose to emigrate into any of the Territories, or a partition of the Territories between the free and slave labor sections of the Union, on the basis of the Missouri Compromise.

For four months a discussion and a controversy, which shook the republic to its very foundations, was carried on in Congress and among the people—a controversy on the slavery question more violent than any which had yet occurred. The Compromise Act was violently opposed in both sections of the Union, but, of course, on opposite grounds. The extreme pro-slavery men regarded it as a surrender of their most vital claims, to the political sentimentality of the North ; and they resolved not to submit to it. Threats

of disunion were loud, violent, and numerous; and opposition to the Compromise took the shape of a political party first in Mississippi, with Jefferson Davis as leader. It spread into other slave-holding States, and appeared formidable. The opposition to the measure in the Northern States was comparatively feeble; but there was a powerful minority in these free-labor States who were strenuously opposed to the Fugitive-Slave law, which formed a part of the Compromise, as unworthy of the sanction of a civilized nation. Yet the majority of the northern people acquiesced in the measure because it promised peace and the maintenance of the commercial prosperity which then prevailed.

In the midst of the excitement occasioned by this controversy, the country was startled by the death of the President, caused by bilious fever, which occurred on the 9th of July, 1850, when he was in the sixty-fifth year of his age. There was much real mourning on account of his death, for the reflecting men of all parties relied upon his justice, integrity and firmness in the right, in that hour of apparent peril to the republic. Millard Fillmore, the Vice-President, became the constitutional successor of President Taylor, and on the day after the death of the latter, Mr. Fillmore took the prescribed oath of office as President of the United States. On the following day, William R. King, of Alabama, was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and became acting Vice-President.

The several members of the cabinet of President Taylor tendered their resignations to Mr. Fillmore, who accepted them, and immediately nominated others for his constitutional advisers. These were Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury; Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of War; William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy; Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior; Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. These names impressed the people with confidence in the administration of Mr. Fillmore.

The most important measures of the government that were pending at the death of President Taylor, and which claimed the early attention of President Fillmore, were the several bills included in the Compromise Act. These were all adopted, with slight modifications, and became laws in the month of September, by receiving the signature of the President. Mr. Seward offered an amendment to the act for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, which provided "That slavery in the District be entirely abrogated; that its abolition depend on the vote of the inhabitants; and that in case, on such vote being taken, it should be in favor of emancipation, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars be appropriated to pay the owners of the slaves for whatever loss they may suffer."

This amendment, after a brief discussion, was rejected by five yeas to forty-five nays.

During Taylor's administration, some unpleasant feeling had been engendered between the governments of the United States and Spain, by an invasion of Cuba by a military force organized in this country. It will be observed hereafter, that the men and measures connected with these movements, were intimately associated with the actors in, and the preliminary events of the late Civil War. General Lopez, a native of Cuba, who led an expedition to that island from the United States, was backed by many men who were conspicuous in the secession movements ten years later. The avowed object of the invasion was to stir up the Creoles, or native Cubans, to a revolt for the purpose of overthrowing the local government, casting off the Spanish yoke, and forming an independent State. No doubt this was the principal and perhaps the only design of Lopez, but not of the politicians at his back. *Their* chief object undoubtedly was to seize Cuba, and make it a part of a great slave empire of the South—a proposition shamelessly set forth in the discreditable "Ostend Manifesto" of a later day. Lopez and his followers landed at Cardenas, in Cuba, at the middle of April, 1850, where he expected to be joined by some of the Spanish troops and a host of native Cubans and with them to overthrow the government of the island. He was disappointed. The troops and people did not appear, to co-operate with him, and he returned to the United States to prepare for a more formidable invasion.

The introduction of the Compromise Act, the invasion of Cuba and the admission of one State and three Territories into the Union, were the most prominent features of President Taylor's administration. That State was California; the Territories were New Mexico, Utah, and Minnesota. The name of the latter is the Indian title of the River St. Peter, a large tributary of the Upper Mississippi, and means sky-colored water.





## CHAPTER XXI.

THE MORMONS: THEIR ORIGIN AND PROGRESS—THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—INVASION OF CUBA—TERRITORY BOUGHT OF THE INDIANS—ENLARGEMENT OF THE CAPITOL—KOSSUTH AND HIS CAUSE—DISPUTES ABOUT FISHERIES—RELATIONS WITH JAPAN—TRIPARTITE TREATY—THE OSTEND CONFERENCE—PRESIDENT PIERCE AND HIS CABINET—EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS—UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD—THE SANDWICH ISLANDS—OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS—KANSAS AND NEBRASKA TERRITORIES—CONTROVERSY ABOUT SLAVERY—DIFFICULTIES WITH SPAIN—RAIDS IN CENTRAL AMERICA—WAR WITH INDIANS—VIOLATION OF NEUTRALITY LAWS—CONFLICT BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SLAVERY—POLITICAL STRUGGLES IN KANSAS—A STATE CONSTITUTION ADOPTED—VIOLENCE IN KANSAS—POLITICAL PARTIES.

ALLUSION has been made to the Mormons in Utah. Their history is a most remarkable one. About fifty years ago, a young man named Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, pretended to have revelations from heaven. In one of these he was directed to go to a hill near Palmyra, New York, where he would find a record of the ancient inhabitants of America and a new gospel for mankind, written centuries before on plates of gold, in unknown characters and languages. From these plates (it was alleged) Smith, sitting behind a blanket to prevent their being seen by profane eyes, read the inscriptions, which were written down by a scribe who was not permitted to see the "leaves of gold." This copy was published under the name of "The Book of Mormon." The true story, as ascertained by investigation, appears to be, that the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, many years before, wrote a work of fiction, founded upon the theory that our continent was peopled by the "lost tribes of Israel;" that the manuscript came, by accident, into the hands of Smith, and that he read to his scribe from the manuscript, and not from any plates containing mysterious characters.

Smith found dupes and followers, and in 1830 he established a "church" with thirty members. He was assisted in his work by Sidney Rigdon, who, it was said, had become possessed of Spaulding's manuscript, and placed it in the hands of Smith. The latter pretended to be governed by continual revelations from heaven; and in accordance with one of them, he led his deluded followers to Kirtland, Ohio, where they built a temple and remained several years, until the conduct of the leaders became so obnoxious that

they were compelled to leave. They established themselves in Hancock county, Illinois, where they founded the city of Nauvoo, and built a temple. Meanwhile they had attempted to plant themselves in Missouri, but they were expelled by the exasperated people, who were assisted by the civil and military powers. At Kirtland, they were joined by a shrewd young man named Brigham Young, a native of Vermont, who has now been president of the Mormon church more than thirty years. It was at Nauvoo that the



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

system of polygamy was first practised among them, and Young has ever been foremost among its defenders. That system was established in consequence of the jealousy of Smith's wife because of his intimacies with other women. In justification of his immoral conduct, Smith had a special revelation from heaven, authorizing polygamy, and declaring that the greater number of wives a man possessed, the greater would be his future rewards; also that the women who consented to share the honors of wifehood with others, would thereby be assured of eternal happiness.

This "revelation" led to events which resulted in the imprisonment of Smith and some of his most intimate associates.

The "prophet" and his brother were shot dead by a mob at the prison; and their followers, in 1845, prepared for an exodus, led by Brigham Young, who had succeeded to the presidency of the Mormon church, on the death of Smith. They finally crossed the Mississippi and penetrated to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, where, in 1848, they seated themselves in a most picturesque region, founded a city, and built a temple. Their numbers have long entitled their domain (which was organized into a Territory with the name of Utah) to admission into the Union as a State. In 1849, President Fillmore appointed Young governor of that Territory; but because of the practice of polygamy by the Mormons, that Territory has never been permitted to enter the Union as a

State. The Mormons now number, in our own and other countries, probably, more than two hundred thousand souls. They have, from time to time, given our government considerable trouble, by their defiance of its laws. The speedy extinguishment of their system is probable.

It was believed by superficial thinkers and observers that the Compromise Act of 1850 had quieted, forever, all controversy on the subject of slavery; and during his entire administration, President Fillmore gave his support to all the measures embraced in that act. When his administration closed in the spring of 1853, there seemed to be very little uneasiness in the public mind on the subject of slavery. But it was only the ominous calm that precedes the bursting of a tempest. The moral sense of the people in the free-labor States (and of thousands in the slave-labor States) had been shocked by the passage of the Fugitive-Slave Law, which compelled every person to become a slave-catcher, under certain circumstances, willing or not willing. That law was so much at variance with Christian ethics and the civilization of the age, that a multitude of persons in all parts of the Union yearned to see it wiped from our national statute-books



MILLARD FILLMORE.

as an ugly blot; and, pondering upon it, many persons who had been indifferent, felt a desire to have a check put upon the further expansion of the system of slavery in our republic. This feeling, and the avowed intention of the supporters of that system to make it a national and not a mere sectional institution, produced violent collisions in speech, and, finally, a most sanguinary civil war. The Fugitive-Slave Law, framed by James M. Mason of Virginia, had much to do with bringing on that terrible crisis in our history.

In 1851, General Lopez renewed his attempt to cause an insurrectionary movement in Cuba, by landing a strong military force, organized in this

country, upon its shores. Our government watched these movements and the violation of neutrality laws with great vigilance, detaining vessels and dispersing illegal associations; but in August, Lopez managed to sail from New York, with almost five hundred followers, whom he landed on the northern coast of Cuba. There he left Colonel W. L. Crittenden (son of the Attorney-General of the United States) in command of one hundred soldiers, and with the remainder he pushed into the interior. At that time forty thousand Spanish troops were concentrated in Cuba. Crittenden and his party were soon captured and shot. Again Lopez found the Cubans unwilling to revolt. He became a fugitive, and at near the close of August, he and six of his followers were arrested, taken to Havana, and executed.

At the same time our government was making peaceful acquisitions of territory in the northwest by the purchase from the Sioux Indians of millions of acres of fertile lands beyond the Mississippi, in the newly organized Territory of Minnesota. This had become a necessity, for a stream of population was pouring into that Territory and threatening to overflow the Indian reservation there. At the same time emigration from Europe was flowing in an immense tide over portions of our domain. Territories and States were increasing in number, and swelling the volume of representatives in the national legislature. To accommodate these, the halls of legislation had to be enlarged, and in the summer of 1851, the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol was laid by President Fillmore, with appropriate Masonic ceremonies. On that occasion Daniel Webster delivered an oration in the presence of a vast multitude of people.

Toward the close of the same year, our government reaffirmed its policy of non-interference with the domestic affairs of European nations, under peculiar circumstances. In December, Louis Kossuth, the exiled governor of Hungary, arrived in the United States to plead the cause of his countrymen, who were struggling for their independence of the rule of Austria, and to ask for material aid from our government. The touching story of his career had preceded and had created here almost universal sympathy for him and his cause. He was received with great enthusiasm, and his mission was the theme of many debates on the floors of Congress. On his arrival at New York he became the guest of the city, and was welcomed by cheers from an immense multitude of citizens, who fringed the streets through which he passed in procession. At Washington he was welcomed by the President, the heads of departments, and the National Congress. The latter gave him a banquet, at which the Acting Vice-President presided. So demonstrative was the welcome, that the Austrian minister formally protested against it, and because his protest was unheeded, he left his post.



The President, however, at his first interview with Kossuth, told him frankly that our policy of non-interference would not allow our government to give him any material aid. This was afforded, to a considerable extent, by private subscriptions.

There was a little ruffling of the good feeling between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, in 1852, in consequence of the alleged violation by American fishers off the coast of British America, of treaty stipulations, which provided that they should not cast their nets nearer such coast than three miles. A new interpretation of that agreement had recently been made by the British government, which claimed that the American fishers had no rights in bays within a line drawn from headland to headland; and that government sent a naval force to support these pretensions. The President sent a naval force to protect our fishermen, and a spark of war seemed inevitable, when the dispute was amicably settled by mutual concessions.

Owing to our increasing intercourse with Asia across the Pacific Ocean, friendly relations with the Japanese was desirable. To establish such amity, our government sent a squadron of seven vessels, commanded by Commodore M. C. Perry, in the summer of 1853, to convey a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan, asking him to consent to the negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the two governments. The mission was successful, and friendly relations were then established between the two countries which have continually increased in strength and importance. In 1860, a large and imposing embassy from the Empire of Japan, visited the United States, and were welcomed by President Buchanan at a personal interview in the reception-room of the executive mansion. Intercourse between the two nations is now free and cordial.

The sympathy manifested by a large portion of the people of the United States in the efforts of Lopez in Cuba, gave rise to suspicions in Europe that it was the policy of our government to ultimately possess that island and assume control over the Gulf of Mexico (the open door to California) and the West India Islands, which were owned chiefly by France and England. To prevent such a result, the governments of these two countries asked that of the United States to enter into a treaty with them, which should secure Cuba to Spain, by agreeing to disclaim "now and forever hereafter, all intention to obtain possession of the Island of Cuba," and "to discountenance all such attempts, to that effect, on the part of any individual or power whatever." To this invitation our Secretary of State (Edward Everett) replied, in the spirit of the "Monroe Doctrine," that the

question was an American and not an European one, and not properly within the scope of the interference of European cabinets; that the United States did not intend to violate any existing neutrality laws; that the government claimed the right to act in relation to Cuba independent of any other power, and that it could not see with indifference "the island of Cuba fall into the hands of any other power than Spain." France made no rejoinder; Great Britain did: and so ended the diplomatic correspondence on the proposed "Tripartite Treaty," in February, 1853. In the letter of Lord John Russell, the English prime-minister, there was an intimation that England and France would not see with indifference the possession of Cuba by the United States. The suspicion that our government intended to gain possession of that island was confirmed by the act of its agents abroad, the following year. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Soulé then represented our country, respectively, at the courts of Great Britain, France, and Spain. They met at Ostend, in Belgium, in October, 1854, by direction of President Pierce, to confer upon the best method for settling all difficulties about Cuba and gaining possession of that island. They embodied their views in a letter to our government, in which they recommended the *purchase* of Cuba, if possible; if not, to obtain it by *force*. "If Spain," they said, "actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States," then "by every law human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power." Honest Americans would gladly blot this letter from our national records, for it is justly regarded as one of the most disgraceful passages in the history of American diplomacy.

When Mr. Fillmore's administration was drawing to a close, nominations for his successor were made. A Democratic national convention assembled at Baltimore, in June, 1852, nominated General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King of Alabama, for Vice-President. A Whig national convention assembled at the same place in the same month, and nominated General Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham of North Carolina for Vice-President. The Democratic nominees were elected, and on the 4th of March, 1853, President Fillmore retired to private life. One of the most important of the closing events of his administration was the creation, by act of Congress, of a new Territory called Washington, which was carved out of the northern part of Oregon. The bill for this purpose became a law on the 2d of March, 1853.

General Pierce took the oath of office as President of the United States, upon a platform of New Hampshire pine, which had been erected at the eastern portico of the Capitol. It was administered in the presence of thousands

of people, who stood in a storm of driving sleet as witnesses of the august ceremony. President Pierce chose for his cabinet William L. Marcy, Secretary of State; James Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury; Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy; Robert McClelland, Secretary of the Interior; James Campbell, Postmaster-General, and Caleb Cushing, Attorney-General.

Important American explorations by sea and land, in the interests of commerce, marked the earlier portion of Pierce's administration. The acquisition of California opened the way for an immense commercial interest on our Pacific coast; and in the spring of 1853, Congress sent four armed vessels to the eastern shores of Asia, by way of Cape Horn, to explore the region of the Pacific Ocean, which, it was evident, would soon be traversed by American steamships plying between the ports of our western frontier and Japan and China. At the same time plans were maturing for the construction of a railway across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Congress, in the sum-



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

mer of 1853, sent out four surveying expeditions to explore as many routes along the general course of four degrees of latitude. One of these lines of railway, known as the Union Pacific, was completed in the spring of 1869. On a beautiful day in May, in a grassy valley in mid-continent, and in the presence of a great concourse of spectators, the last spike was driven and the great work was completed. Over that railway passengers may now be carried from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the course of six or seven days.

At that time the government of the Sandwich Islands was making overtures for the annexation of that ocean-empire to our republic. This aroused the jealousy of France and England, who felt disposed to interfere in the matter. A change of rulers in the islands, put an end to the matter.

A dispute in relation to the boundary line between New Mexico and the Province of Chihuahua in old Mexico threatened to produce war, but it was happily diverted by diplomacy. With the government of Austria there were some unpleasant relations about that time, growing out of the protecting power of our government in the case of a naturalized citizen. A Hungarian exile, named Kozta, had become naturalized here. While engaged in business in Smyrna, he was seized by order of the Austrian consul-general and placed on board a brig to be sent to Trieste as a refugee. The *St. Louis*, one of our naval vessels, was then in the harbor of Smyrna, and her commander (Captain Ingraham) claimed Kozta as a citizen of the United States and demanded his release. It was refused, and Ingraham cleared his ship for action. This argument was effectual, and Kozta was delivered up on board the *St. Louis*. Congress showed their approval of the conduct of their servant by voting Ingraham a sword. Austria was offended, but no serious difficulty ensued. This protection of an humble citizen of the United States, in a foreign land, increased the respect for our government and flag abroad.

An unexpected movement now aroused a vehement discussion of the slavery question. In January, 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas presented a bill in the Senate for the erection of two vast Territories in mid-continent, to be called, respectively, Kansas and Nebraska. The bill provided for giving permission to the inhabitants of those Territories to decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist within their domain. This proposed nullification of the Missouri Compromise produced rancorous controversies in and out of Congress, and the people of the free-labor States became violently excited. After long and bitter discussions in both Houses of Congress, the bill became a law in May following. The people of the North thought they perceived in this measure a determination to make slavery national; and the boast of Robert Toombs, of Georgia, that he would yet "call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill," seemed likely not to be an idle one. While this irritating subject was under discussion, fresh difficulties with Spain appeared. The Spanish authorities in Cuba seized the American steamship *Black Warrior* and confiscated her cargo, under some pretence of her violating the neutrality laws. Our government, satisfied of the flagrancy of the act, was disposed to suspend those laws. A special messenger was sent to the Spanish government at Madrid to lay the case before the imperial authorities. The Cuban officials, becoming alarmed, proposed to deliver up the vessel and cargo on the payment of a fine, by her owners, of six thousand dollars. It was paid under protest, and the affair was amicably settled by the governments. These occurrences were made



the excuse for the meeting of the American ministers at Ostend, and their disreputable action there.

In the light of historic events, it is clear to-day, that men who afterward appeared as leaders in the war against our government, were then concocting and executing schemes for the extension of the domains of the slave system. It must expand or suffocate. They contrived and put in motion expeditions for conquering neighboring provinces, in the southwest, under various pretexts, and their acts were unrebuked by our government. They formed a design to conquer parts of Mexico, and also Central America; and the theatre of their first practically successful endeavors was on the northern portion of the great isthmus between North and South America. The first movement was an armed "emigration" into Nicaragua, with peaceful professions, led by Colonel H. L. Kinney. This was followed by an armed invasion by Californians led by William Walker, first, of provinces in Mexico, and then of the state of Nicaragua. Walker also made peaceful professions on landing, but the next day he cast off the mask and attempted to capture a town. He was soon driven out by Nicaraguan troops, and escaped in a schooner. He soon reappeared with a stronger force (September, 1855) when the country was in a state of revolution, and pushed his scheme of conquest so vigorously that he seized the capital of the state (Grenada), in October, and placed one of his followers (a Nicaraguan) in the presidential chair. He also strengthened his power by armed "emigrants" who came from the slave-labor States. The other governments on the isthmus were alarmed for their own safety, and in the winter of 1856 they formed an alliance for expelling the invaders. Troops from Costa Rica marched into Nicaragua, but were soon driven out by Walker's forces. So firm was his grasp that he caused himself to be elected President of Nicaragua; and the government at Washington hastened to acknowledge the new "nation," by cordially receiving Walker's ambassador in the person of a Roman Catholic priest named Vigil. For two years this usurper ruled that state with a high hand, and offended commercial nations by his interference with trade. At length the combined powers on the isthmus crushed him. In May, 1857, he was compelled to surrender the remnant of his army, but escaped himself through the interposition of Commodore Davis of our navy. Late in the same year he reappeared in Central America, when he was seized, with his followers, by Commodore Paulding, and sent to New York as an offender against neutrality laws. The President (Buchanan) *privately* commended Paulding for his action, but for "prudential reasons," as he said, he publicly condemned the commander in a message to Congress, for "thus violating the sovereignty of a foreign country." Walker was

allowed to go free, when he fitted out another expedition and sailed from Mobile. He was arrested only for leaving port without a clearance, and was tried and acquitted by the supreme court at New Orleans. Then he went again to Nicaragua, where he made much mischief, and was finally captured and shot at Truxillo.

Settlers in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, on the Pacific coast, had trouble with the Indians there in 1855, who went out in parties to plunder and murder. General Wool, then stationed at San Francisco, went up to Portland, in Oregon, to arrange a campaign against them. The savages were so well organized in both Territories that, at one time, it appeared as if the white settlers would be compelled to abandon the country. The Indians were subdued in 1856, but for a long time restlessness appeared among the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. It was generally believed that they were incited to hostilities by the employés of the Hudson's Bay Company, in British Columbia. At the same time the friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States were somewhat disturbed by the enlistment, in our country, of recruits for the British army, then operating against Russia in the Crimean Peninsula. This violation of neutrality laws had been done with the sanction of British officials here, among whom was the British minister at Washington. The minister and the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, were dismissed by our government. There was much irritation felt by the British cabinet for some time; but as our government was clearly in the right, a new minister and new consuls were soon sent hither.

Our country, at this juncture, was approaching that great crisis which appeared in the dreadful aspect of civil war—a tremendous conflict between Freedom and Slavery for supremacy in the republic. With the enactment and enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Law and the virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act, in the case of Kansas and Nebraska, the important question was forced upon the attention of the whole people of the land, "Shall the domain of our republic be the theatre of all free or all slave labor, with the corresponding civilization of each as a consequence?" The time had come when one or the other of these social systems must prevail in all parts of the land. Part free and part slave was a condition no longer to be tolerated, for it meant perpetual war. The supporters of the slave-system, encouraged by their recent triumphs, had full faith in their ability to win other and more decisive victories, and did not permit themselves to doubt their ultimate possession of the field, so they sounded the trumpet for their hosts to rally and prepare for the struggle. Kansas was the chosen field for the preliminary skirmishing. It lay nearest to the settled States:

it was bordered on the east by a slave-labor State, and it was easy of access from the South. On the surface of society they saw only insignificant ripples of opposition. They began to colonize the Territory; and, flushed with what seemed to be well-assured success, they cast down the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of the friends of free-labor in the nation.

That gauntlet was quickly taken up by their opponents, and champions of freedom seemed to spring from the ground like the harvest from the seed-sowing of dragons' teeth. Enterprising men and women swarmed out of New England to people the virgin soil of Kansas with the hardy children of toil. They were joined by those of other free-labor States in the North and West. The then dominant party in the Union were astonished at the sudden uprising, and clearly perceived that the opponents of slavery would speedily outvote its supporters. Combinations were formed under various names, such as "Blue Lodges," "Friends' Society," "Social Band," "Sons of the South," etc., to counteract the efforts of the "Emigrant Aid Society" of Massachusetts, to gain numerical supremacy in Kansas—a society which had been organized immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The supporters of slavery, conscious that their votes could not secure supremacy in Kansas, where the question of slavery or no slavery was to be decided at the ballot-box, organized physical force in Missouri to oppose this moral force. Associations were formed in Missouri, whose members were pledged to be ready, at all times, to assist, when called upon by the friends of slavery in Kansas, in removing from that Territory by force every person who should attempt to settle there "under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Society."

In the autumn of 1854, A. H. Reeder was sent to govern the Territory of Kansas. He immediately ordered an election of a Territorial legislature, and with that election the struggle for supremacy there was finally begun. Missourians went into Kansas to assist the supporters of slavery there in carrying the election. They went with tents, artillery and other weapons. There were then eight hundred and thirty-one legal voters in the Territory, but there were more than six thousand votes polled. The members of the Legislature were all supporters of slavery; and when they met at Shawnee, on the borders of Missouri, they proceeded to enact laws for upholding slavery in Kansas. These laws were regularly vetoed by Governor Reeder, who became so obnoxious that President Pierce was asked to recall him. The President did so, and sent Wilson Shannon of Ohio, who was an avowed supporter of slavery, to fill Reeder's place.

The actual settlers in Kansas, who were chiefly from the free-labor States, met in mass convention in September, 1855, and resolved not to recognize

the laws passed by the illegally elected legislature, as binding upon them. They called a delegate convention to assemble at Topeka on the 19th of October, at which time and place the convention framed a State constitution which was approved by the legal voters of the Territory, and which contained an article making provision for constituting Kansas a free-labor State. Under this constitution they asked Congress to admit that Territory into the Union as a State. By this action the contest between Freedom and Slavery was transferred from Kansas to Washington, for awhile. The prospect of success for the opponents of slavery, in Kansas, was beginning to appear bright, when President Pierce gave the supporters of the institution much comfort by a message to Congress in January, 1856, in which he declared the action of the legal voters, in adopting a State constitution, to be open rebellion.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1856, armed men from other States roamed over Kansas, committing many excesses under pretext of compelling obedience to the laws of the illegal legislature. There was much violence and bloodshed; but during the autumn, the Presidential election absorbed so much of the public attention, that Kansas was allowed a season of rest. At that election there were three parties in the field, each of which had a candidate for the Presidency. One was a party composed of men of all political creeds, who were opposed to slavery. It was called the Republican party, and it assumed powerful proportions at the outset. Another powerful political organization was known as the American or Know-Nothing party, whose chief bond of union was opposition to foreign influence and Roman Catholicism. The Democratic party, dating its organization at the period of the election of President Jackson in 1828, was then the dominant party in the Union. The Democratic candidate for the Presidency was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania; of the Republican party, John C. Fremont of California, and of the American party, Ex-President Fillmore. After an exciting canvass, James Buchanan was elected President, with John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, as Vice-President.









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